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*Parrish*

THE

PANEGYRICUS

OF

ISOCRATES,

FROM THE TEXT OF BREMI.

WITH ENGLISH NOTES,

BY

C. C. FELTON, LL.D.

*Third Edition, Revised.*

CAMBRIDGE,  
SEVER AND FRANCIS.

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*Mrs. George H. Braune*

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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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IN the valuable "History of Eloquence in Greece and Rome" \* by Westermann, a convenient division into chronological periods is adopted. Each period is then subdivided into shorter portions. The first period brings the history of Greek eloquence down to the time of the Persian wars, and treats of various interesting topics, particularly of Homer and the popular institutions incidentally delineated in his poems. The second period extends to the death of Alexander the Great, and includes the most brilliant names that illustrate the history of Athenian eloquence. In the second subdivision of this period, which he calls the Spartan age, on account of the great influence which Sparta acquired by the result of the Peloponnesian war, he places Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus, although the life of Isocrates extended into the Macedonian epoch.

The father of Isocrates was a wealthy and respectable citizen of Athens, named Theodorus, who carried on the manufacture of flutes; † a circumstance that gave occasion to many satirical allusions by the comic poets of the

\* Geschichte der Beredsamkeit in Griechenland und Rom, nach den Quellen bearbeitet von Dr. Anton Westermann. Leipzig, 1863.

† Dionysius, Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ῥητόρων, p. 534 seqq.

time. Isocrates was born in the deme of Erchia, in the first year of the 86th Olympiad, or B. C. 436, in the archonship of Lysimachus, a little more than half a century before the birth of Demosthenes, and five years before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. He was, therefore, about seven years older than Plato. Besides Isocrates, Theodorus had two other sons, Telesippus and Diomnestus, and a daughter. The fortune of Theodorus, acquired by the manufacture of flutes, enabled him to secure for his sons the ablest teachers of the age, and Isocrates listened to the lessons of Tisias, Gorgias, Prodicus, and even of Socrates. He was also the friend and associate of Theramenes, whom he vainly endeavored to serve against the fury of Critias. But the natural timidity of the young man, and some physical disadvantages which he labored under, prevented him from engaging personally in the career of public life, which had such attractions for the ambitious spirits at Athens.

He accordingly devoted himself to the study of the theory of eloquence, and to the training of pupils, by teaching and writing, for the Assembly and the courts. It appears that his patrimony was diminished, like so many other estates of Athenian citizens, by the calamities of the Peloponnesian war; and one object he had in view was to repair these losses by the income derived from his business as a teacher of rhetoric. He first opened a school in Chios, where he had but nine pupils; but he is said to have assisted in the formation of a republican constitution for that state, on the model of that of Athens. After this unsuccessful attempt, he returned to his native

city, where the number of his pupils soon increased to one hundred; and his instructions gained him a large fortune and an extraordinary reputation. Besides teaching, he was employed, like many Greek rhetoricians, in writing discourses for others, for one of which he is said to have received the enormous sum of twenty talents.

The wealth of Isocrates exposed him to the usual burdensome offices to which the possessors of property at Athens were liable. He served the expensive liturgy of trierarch, B. C. 352, with great magnificence.

The private life of Isocrates was neither above nor below the average standard of morals in his age. He appears to have indulged in the pleasures and dissipation common among the Athenians of the time. When somewhat advanced, he married Plathane, the widow of Hippias the Sophist, and adopted her youngest son, Aphareus, who became an orator and a distinguished tragic poet.\* Having spent many years in the laborious profession of a teacher of eloquence, he died a voluntary death immediately after the disastrous result of the battle of Chaeronea, B. C. 338.

“ That dishonest victory  
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,  
Killed with report that old man eloquent.”

The life of Isocrates extended over a period that embraced the most important events in the history of Athens. His youth and early manhood were passed amidst the scenes of the Peloponnesian war. He witnessed the es-

\* According to Plutarch, Aphareus was the son of Isocrates by Plathane.

tablishment of the tyranny of the Thirty, and the triumphant restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus. The romantic expedition of Cyrus the Younger, and the immortal retreat of the Ten Thousand, took place in the flower of his age. The death of his teacher, Socrates, by the atrocious sentence of a popular court, saddened his reflecting mind. With patriotic jealousy he watched the progress of the Spartan arms in Asia under Agesilaus, and shared in the hopes and the disappointments of the Corinthian war. He submitted impatiently to the Spartan supremacy; and he doubtless witnessed the sudden glory of Thebes, the brilliant exploits of Epaminondas, and the downfall of the ancient rival of Athens, without regret. When Philip became a prominent personage in Grecian politics, Isocrates was one of those who looked on him as the saviour of the country.

The opposition between the views of Isocrates and those of Demosthenes was remarkable. Demosthenes foresaw from an early period the danger to the liberties of Greece from the ambition of Philip, and engaged in a strenuous resistance, which tasked to the utmost the powers of his splendid oratory. But Isocrates felt that Philip had the power, and he gave him credit for the disposition, to unite the discordant and warring elements that disturbed the peace of the Grecian States, and to bend their concentrated forces upon the great enterprise of conquering the barbarian world. These hopes and this confidence were overthrown by the battle of Chaeronea, and the aged teacher refused to survive an event so disastrous to the independence of Greece. Demosthenes, the practical states-

man, was right. Isocrates, the theoretical rhetorician, was wrong; and it is one of the perversities of ancient politics, that both careers led to suicide.

From the quiet scene of his labors and studies, Isocrates saw passing before him, with startling rapidity and dramatic effect, the shifting scenes of Athenian fortunes. Perhaps these events of more than tragic interest turned his mind from the Sophistic subtleties in the midst of which he had been educated, to the serious, earnest, and ethical views of life, and of eloquence in its influence upon life, which are so profusely scattered over his works; for he was the first to apply the art of eloquence to public questions and the affairs of state. In his school were trained the most eminent statesmen, orators, and philosophers of his age. It was the resort of persons distinguished for birth and talents from every country where the civilization of Greece was known and honored. Even foreign princes corresponded with Isocrates, on terms of equality.

His manner of composition was precise and technical. We see in it the habits of the careful student, nicely adjusting and rounding off his periods; not neglecting the matter, yet over-scrupulous in respect to the manner. His Panegyric Discourse is said by some to have been ten years, by others fifteen, under his hand; and no one can read it without discerning the traces of scrupulous finish, which contrasts strikingly with the practical vigor and overpowering vehemence of Demosthenes. It would be a very useful exercise for the student of rhetoric to compare the styles of these two eminent masters,—each inimitable in his own way. Demosthenes was as careful

as Isocrates in the preparation which he expended upon his orations ; but the necessity of addressing a living multitude forced him to mould his speech into those forms of pointed cogency, crystal clearness, and adamantine strength, to which no orator of modern times, perhaps, has approached so near as Webster. Isocrates, on the other hand, intent upon the rhythm of his sentences and the balance of his antithetical clauses, sometimes trains his constructions to such a length that it would have been equally difficult for the speaker to deliver them without breaking down, and for an audience to hear them without losing part of the sense. Nowhere is the difference between the practical statesman and orator and the philosophical rhetorician more instructively exhibited.

But the language of Isocrates is the purest Attic ; and his composition is an exquisite specimen of the artificial and elaborate kind. "His diction," says Dionysius, "is no less pure than that of Lysias, and it employs no word carelessly ; . . . . it avoids the bad taste \* of antiquated and far-fetched phrases." However unsuited to public delivery, to the reader it is clear, elegant, and delightful. It is select, carefully formed, polished to a high degree ; and though at times richly ornamented, is also at times beautifully simple ; but it is rarely concise and forcible. His merits were discerned by the principal critics of ancient times. The most formal examination of them is that by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to which may be added the observations in the sketch of his life and character by Plutarch. Plato, in the *Phaedrus*, † makes Socrates speak of

\* ἀπειροκαλίαν.

† p. 278, E.

him as a young man of high promise. Cicero, Quintilian, Lucian, Pausanias, Aelian, Philostratus, Photius, Suidas, and even Eustathius, have touched upon his works with more or less minuteness. His moral sentiments are generally elevated, and, however mistaken he may have been in some of his opinions, the patriotic spirit of his writings is unquestionable.

There were sixty orations in antiquity that bore the name of Isocrates; but only twenty-eight of them were recognized as genuine by Caecilius, a critic in the age of Augustus. Twenty-one have been preserved. Besides these, we have the titles and some fragments of twenty-seven more. There are also ten letters written to his friends on political subjects, one of which, the tenth, is pronounced spurious. The title and a few fragments of a Theory of Eloquence (Τέχνη ῥητορική) have been preserved.

The twenty-one discourses now extant may be thus classified:—

1. Three Paraenetic orations, or discourses written for the purpose of giving advice, resembling the moral epistle. One of these is addressed to Demonicus, and two to Nicocles, the son of Evagoras, prince of Cyprus.

2. Five Deliberative orations (συμβουλευτικοί): the Panegyricus, those addressed to Philip and to Archidamus, the Areopagiticus, and that on the Peace.

3. Four Encomia: on Evagoras, Helen, Busiris, and the Panathenaicus.

4. Eight Judicial discourses: the Plataicus; on Exchange of Estates; a pleading for the son of Alcibiades; the Trapeziticus, against Pasion the banker, on a question



of deposit; the Paragraphicus; Aegineticus; against Lo-chites; defence of Nicias.

5. A discourse against the Sophists.

These are all interesting and important, as illustrating the age of Isocrates and his personal character. A few extracts from two or three of them, touching upon the latter point, may be allowed to complete the biographical notice given in the preceding pages.

In the discourse to Philip he says: "I was the least fitted of all the citizens by nature to take part in public affairs; for I had not sufficient power of voice nor boldness enough to encounter a multitude, and to wrangle with the orators storming on the bema. But I claim the honor of intellectual ability and of a liberal education; wherefore I take it upon myself to advise, in the way that suits my nature and my talent, both the city and the other Greeks and the most illustrious men."

In the Panathenaicus he says: "I have had my share of the greatest blessings that all men would pray to receive. In the first place, I have had health of body and of mind in no common measure, but to such a degree as to rival those who have been most fortunate in each of these respects. In the next place, I have had an affluence of the means of living, so as never to be deprived of any reasonable gratification that a man of sense would desire. Then I have never been overlooked or neglected, but have always ranked among those whom the most accomplished Greeks thought and spoke of as persons of character and influence. All these blessings have been mine, some superabundantly, others sufficiently." He then proceeds to point out cir-

cumstances in his lot which made him sometimes querulous and peevish.

Near the beginning of the oration, he states that, when he began it, he was ninety-four years old ; and towards the conclusion, he says that, when the composition was about half written, he was seized with a violent illness, which he "passed three years in combating"; that he was then persuaded by the urgency of friends, to whom he had read portions of it, to attempt its completion. He resumed the work, as he says, when he wanted but three years of a hundred, and in such a state of health as would have prevented anybody else, not only from attempting to write a discourse, but even from listening willingly to the discourse of another.

The oration on the Antidosis, or Exchange of Estates, contains valuable personal notices. The antidosis was a technical proceeding, by which the Attic law allowed a person on whom a costly liturgy had been imposed to call upon another citizen, whose estate he believed to be greater than his own, either to assume the office or to exchange estates. On one occasion, a person, Lysimachus probably, tendered to Isocrates the antidosis, and he, as the least of two evils, served the liturgy, and appears to have done it in a magnificent style. The discourse was composed many years after, in the form of a defence in a fictitious trial. Schöll commits an error, when he says that Isocrates pronounced it in defending himself against Lysimachus.

He begins by stating that he had been exposed to many calumnies from the Sophists, which he had disregarded ; but when far advanced in life, an exchange of estates had been tendered to him upon the trierarchy, and his opponent

made such statements in regard to his wealth that he was compelled to take upon himself the burden. He was then led to reflect upon the best method of refuting these injurious misrepresentations, and of setting his character, life, and pursuits in a true light before his contemporaries and future generations. "Upon mature consideration," he says, "I found I could effect this purpose in no other manner than by writing a discourse which should be, as it were, an image of my mind and life; for I hoped that by this means my character and actions would be best understood, and that the discourse itself would remain a much more honorable memorial than tablets of brass. . . . With these views I set about the composition of the present discourse, not in the full vigor of my powers, but at the age of eighty-two." He says of himself: "I have so lived during the time that is past, that no one, either in the oligarchy or the democracy, has charged upon me any insolence or wrong, and no arbitrator or dicast has ever been called to sit in judgment upon my conduct."

He then describes himself as keeping aloof from political affairs, from courts of law, from assemblies, from the arbitrators, and contrasts his own habits with those of his enemies, who haunted every place of public resort, and intermeddled with suits and prosecutions of every kind. He states that he has written, not upon the common business of man with man, but upon subjects of general importance, — "Hellenic, political, and panegyric discourses," which rank, as works of art, with those compositions which are embellished with music and rhythm; that many desired to become his disciples, thinking that thus they might make

themselves wiser and better men. He then reviews his principal compositions, giving passages from the Panegyricus, the discourse on Peace, and the address to Nicocles. "These," says he, "having been written and published, I acquired great reputation and received many pupils, not one of whom would have remained with me, had they not found me to be such as they had supposed. And now, when there have been so many, some of whom have lived with me three years, not one will be seen to have found any fault with me; but at the end of the time, when they were about to sail home to their parents and friends, they were so attached to their residence, that they took their departure with a heavy heart and with tears." He then enumerates the pupils and friends who had received golden crowns from the city on account of their public merits; and, in fact, all the important circumstances and relations of his life are minutely described, so that the discourse answers the purpose he intended, of conveying an image of himself to posterity.

The Panegyricus has been selected for publication, partly because it is an excellent specimen of the best manner of Isocrates, and partly because, by its plan, it presents a review of the history of Athens from the mythical ages down to the period following the treaty of Antalcidas. It is a convenient work to make the text-book for lessons in Greek history, affording a central point around which to assemble the leading events.

The date of the Panegyricus has been discussed and differently settled by different scholars. The events al-

luded to in the discourse itself of course furnish the means of deciding this point approximately, but not exactly. The number of years during which Isocrates kept the work in his hands makes it uncertain whether these allusions to historical facts of his time are made with reference to the moment of writing the respective passages, or to the time of publication. Setting this element of uncertainty aside from the calculation, we may assume that the Panegyricus appeared about B. C. 380, since he speaks of the Cyprian war "being already in its sixth year," and that began B. C. 386. Of course it must have been published before the end of the war, B. C. 376, and the death of Evagoras; since there is no hint in the discourse of either of these events. This is the utmost limit. If the date assumed is correct, Isocrates finished the oration at the age of fifty-five or fifty-six. It was published in the time of the Spartan supremacy, — which lasted from the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387, to the battle of Leuctra, B. C. 371, — and about twenty years before the name of Philip of Macedon began to be heard of in Greece.

The object of the Panegyricus is the vindication of the Athenian claim to supremacy, and the reconciliation of the Greeks, particularly Sparta and Athens, for the purpose of assailing the Persians with their united forces.

After the introductory remarks upon the nature of the subject, — upon its having been often handled before, and the orator's own ideas upon the proper manner of treating it, — he proceeds to maintain the claims of Athens to the supremacy, on the ground of the antiquity of the

city, and the purity of the origin of the Athenians ; then on the score of what Athens has done towards adorning, cultivating, and embellishing life ; her services in founding colonies ; her laws and institutions ; her hospitality, and the liberal manner in which she has conducted herself towards other states ; her elegant festivities and shows, in which genius was cultivated and honored ; and her pursuit of literature, especially of eloquence and philosophy.

He then passes on to her history, beginning with the mythical ages, Adrastus, the Heracleidae, the wars with the Scythians, Thracians, Amazons, Persians. He touches lightly upon the Trojan times, but is especially emphatic upon the wars with Darius and Xerxes, in which the Spartans and Athenians were rivals. The Athenian pre-eminence was acknowledged then, and this fact is an argument in support of their present claim to the hegemony.\*

In the next place, he considers the conduct of the Athenians in administering their power, — their leniency, and their care for the safety of the allies, as contrasted with the oppression and cruelty of the Lacedaemonians, which have led to great disorders and disasters among the Greek states.

He then points out the folly of the Greeks in contending among themselves, when they might gain such advantages by uniting against the Persians ; describes the

\* The term *ἡγεμονία*, which occurs very often in Greek historical writers, and in the orators, is rendered *primacy* by Mr. Grote, in his admirable History of Greece.

weakness of the Persians, and the proofs and sources of it; speaks of the natural hostility of the Greeks against the Barbarians, the reasons that encourage the Greeks to war, especially the favorable circumstances of the times, the state of Persia, and the necessity of such a union among the Greeks, in order to compose their own discords.

Finally, he argues that the Greeks should set their minds upon the prosperity they may transfer from Asia, and that they who have the power must study to reconcile the Spartans and Athenians. The orators are exhorted to renounce the petty subjects which now occupy them, and to expend their rivalries on this, which is by far the most important interest to which their attention can be directed.

It is unnecessary to sketch the plan and argument of this discourse in greater detail, as the main heads are dwelt upon at considerable length in the notes.

The text of the present edition is that of Bremi, in the *Bibliotheca Graeca*. Dobson, Becker, Spohn, Coray, and Rauchenstein have been consulted, and a variety of books have been drawn upon for the materials of illustration. The most important of these are Thirlwall and Grote's *Histories of Greece*, and Hofmann and Wachsmuth's works on the *Political and Historical Antiquities of the Greeks*.

C. C. FELTON.

CAMBRIDGE, July, 1847.

## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

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I HAVE undertaken the revision of the notes to this edition of the *Panegyricus*, in compliance with a request of the late President Felton. Several months before his death, he decided to prepare a new edition, and desired me to add such grammatical or other notes as I might think expedient. His sudden death occurred before the work was begun, but I have still thought it my duty to comply with his request, so far as I was able. I have interpreted his wishes by my former experience in revising the notes to his second edition of the *Birds of Aristophanes*, in which I was able constantly to refer to his taste and judgment. His own copy of the *Panegyricus* contained a few additions and corrections, chiefly verbal, all of which are included in the present edition. There will also be found distributed through the notes a set of references to my "Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb," which had been prepared for this purpose at Mr. Felton's request. These references are marked by the letter G. All notes which I have added myself, including even parts of sentences which materially affect the sense, are enclosed in brackets. I have omitted nothing,



except occasionally a note which was rendered unnecessary by something newly added, or one which I knew that President Felton would have omitted if he had revised the notes himself. The historical notes will generally be found unaltered, except where references to Grote's History of Greece have been added, or where quotations have been given instead of citations.

W. W. GOODWIN.

HARVARD COLLEGE, December, 1863.

THE PANEGYRICUS OF ISOCRATES.



## A. CORAË PRÆFATIO AD PANEGYRICUM.

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ περιβόητος Πανηγυρικὸς λόγος, ὡς μὲν τινες, δέκα, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, πεντεκαίδεκα γραφεῖς ἔτεσιν Ἰσοκράτει. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιγραφὴ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν αὐτὸν εἶναι δηλοῖ· Ἀθηναῖος γὰρ ἐγκωμιάζει, καὶ πολὺς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἐπαίνοις, πολὺ προέχειν Λακεδαιμονίων προθυμούμενος ἐπιδείξαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ πολί- 5 τας ὁ φιλόπατρις ῥήτωρ. Ἐγκατέμειξε δὲ τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ τὸ συμβουλευτικόν· παραινῆ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἀπασι, διαλυσαμένοις τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον, καὶ παυσασμένοις τῆς ἀκαίρου φιλονεικίας, κοινῇ στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων παραινετικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει. Καὶ φησὶν Ἀδριανός, ὅτι 10 τούτου τοῦ λόγου εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔλθοῦσα ἡ φήμη πρῶτον μὲν Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνέστησεν, ἐκείνου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, πρὶν ἢ πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις, τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. Αἰτιῶνται δ' Ἰσοκράτην πολλὰ μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν Πανηγυρικὸν ἐκ τῶν Γοργία τε καὶ Λυσία περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν σπουδασθέντων. 15 Καὶ τοῦ μὲν τῷ Λυσία γραφέντος ἐπιταφίου λόγου εὐρίσκεσθαι τινα καὶ ἐν τῷ Πανηγυρικῷ Ἰσοκράτους οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρνήσασθαι· τοῦ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ Λυσία γεγραμμένου Ὀλυμπιακοῦ λόγου μικρὸν πάμπαν περιλείπεται τεμάχιον, παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Ἀλικαρνασσέϊ σωζόμενον, ὡς οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸν Ἰσοκράτην εὐθύθεν. Τὸν δὲ 20 παραπλησίως ἐπιγραφόμενον καὶ μηκέτι σωζόμενον Ὀλυμπιακὸν Γοργίου εἰκὸς οὕτω γεγράφθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ σωζόμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς

Ἑλένης ἐγκώμιον, τουτέστιν εἰς ὄγκον ποιήσει μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ λόγῳ  
 πρέποντα ἐξηγμένον, ὡς φησιν ὁ δεινὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιγνώμων  
 Ἀριστοτέλης. Πρὸς τοῦτο τοῖνυν τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἐγκώμιον ἀντιπα-  
 ραβάλλων ὅπερ κατὰ ζῆλον Γοργίου Ἰσοκράτης ἀντέγραψεν Ἑλένης  
 5 ἐγκώμιον, καίπερ οὐδὲ τοῦτο σοφιστικῆς περιεργίας ἀπηλλαγμένον  
 παντάπασιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν τῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν κριτικῆς ἐπι-  
 στήμης μετειληχῶτων τοῦ Γοργιακοῦ μακρῷ προέχει οὐχ ὁμολογή-  
 σειεν. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον παρά γε τοῖς εὐ φρονούσιν οὐ τᾶλλό-  
 τρια σφετερίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐλλιπῶς ἢ καὶ κακῶς  
 10 γραφέντα διασκευάζειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιόν τε καὶ τελειότερον. Λέγω  
 δὲ τοῦτο περὶ Γοργίου μόνον· εἰσθῶ γὰρ ὁ Δυσίας ἐν τῷ παρόν-  
 τι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν δοκιμωτάτων ὑπάρχων ῥητόρων, εἴ τινα τῶν  
 ἐκείνου μετενήνοχεν εἰς τὸν Παναγυρικὸν Ἰσοκράτης, καὶ μὴ πολλῷ  
 μᾶλλον κατὰ συνέμπτωσιν, περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ λέγων, τοῖς αὐ-  
 15 τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν ἠναγκάσθη χρῆσασθαι. “Οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει,”  
 φησὶν ὁ Φώτιος Ἰσοκράτους ὑπεραπολογούμενος, “ παραπλησίων  
 ἀνακυπτόντων πραγμάτων ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἐξεργασίαις χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐνθυμήμασιν, οὐχ ὑποβαλλόμενον τὰ ἀλλότρια, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν πρα-  
 γμάτων ἀναβλαστανούσης φύσεως τοιαῦτα, οἷα καὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι  
 20 προβαλομένη ἐπιδείκνυται.”



cont. facts without

Tommy C. Paine  
We are for  
no power want.



ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν πώποτε δοκεῖν εἰρήσθαι περ  
 αὐτῶν, ἅμα δὲ προκρίνας τούτους καλλίστους εἶναι τῶν  
 λόγων, οἵτινες περὶ μεγίστων τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες καὶ  
 τοὺς τε λέγοντας μάλιστ' ἐπιδεικνύουσι καὶ τοὺς ἀκού-  
 5 οντας πλείστ' ὠφελούσιν, ὧν εἰς οὗτός ἐστιν. \*Ἐπειτ  
 οὐδ' οἱ καιροὶ <sup>ἀνεκὴ</sup> πω παρέληλύθασιν, ὥστ' ἤδη <sup>ἰσχυρῶν</sup> ματην εἶναι  
 τὸ μεμνήσθαι περὶ τούτων. Τότε γὰρ χρὴ παύεσθαι  
 λέγοντας, ὅταν ἢ τὰ πράγματα λάβῃ τέλος καὶ μηκέτι  
 δέη βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἢ τὸν λόγον ἴδη τις ἔχον-  
 10 τα πέρας, ὥστε μηδεμίαν λελεῖφθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερ-  
 βολήν. \*Ἐὼς δ' ἂν τὰ μὲν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ πρότερον  
 φέρηται, τὰ δ' εἰρημένα φαύλως ἔχοντα τυγχάνῃ, πῶς  
 οὐ χρὴ σκοπεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν τούτον τὸν λόγον, ὅς,  
 ἦν κατορθωθῆ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 15 καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τῆς παρούσης καὶ τῶν μεγίστων  
 κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξει ;

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰ μὲν μηδαμῶς ἄλλως οἰόν τ'  
 ἦν δηλοῦν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ μιᾶς ιδέας,  
 εἶχεν ἂν τις ὑπολαβεῖν, ὡς περιέργον ἐστὶ τὸν αὐτὸν  
 20 τρόπον ἐκείνοις λέγοντα πάλιν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν·  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ λόγοι τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν φύσιν, ὥσθ'  
 οἰόν τ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλαχῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι,  
 καὶ τὰ τε μεγάλα ταπεινὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς  
 μέγεθος περιθεῖναι, καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καινῶς διελθεῖν καὶ  
 25 περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ γεγενημένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι  
 φευκτέον ταῦτ' ἐστὶ, περὶ ὧν ἕτεροι πρότερον εἰρή-  
 κασιν, ἀλλ' ἄμεινον ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν πειρατέον. Αἰ

these are the sort of investigations which by chance are  
on the highest subjects and which first show

nothing over has been left to the rest

So long as what has been done goes on and  
what has been said  
thus not well

the present confusion

in the same way

trouble

thoroughly prepared and they make such a  
mistake that they consider it

is a serious matter

They are not interested in raising their

They are not interested in raising their

μεν γὰρ πράξεις αἱ προγεγενημέναι κοινὰ πᾶσιν  
 ἡμῖν κατελείφθησαν, τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ ταύταις καταχρή-  
 σασθαι καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα <sup>ἑκάστης</sup> ἐνθυμηθῆ- ) 27

ἔμαντοῦ θρασυνάμενος ἤδη περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ποι-  
 ἴσομαι τοὺς λόγους. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς  
 προσιμίαις ὀρῶ καταπραΰνοντας τοὺς ἀκροατάς, καὶ  
 προφασίζομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι, καὶ  
 5 λέγοντας τοὺς μὲν, ὡς ἐξ ὑπογυίου γέγονεν αὐτοῖς  
 ἢ παρασκευή, τοὺς δ', ὡς χαλεπὸν ἔστιν ἴσους τοὺς  
 λόγους τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐξευρεῖν. Ἐγὼ δ'  
 ἦν μὴ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίως εἶπω καὶ τῆς δό-  
 ξης τῆς ἔμαντοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, μὴ μόνον τοῦ περὶ  
 10 τὸν λόγον ἡμῖν διατριφθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύμπαντος  
 οὐ βεβίωκα, παρακελεύομαι μηδεμίαν μοι συγγνώ-  
 μην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καταγελᾶν καὶ καταφρονεῖν· οὐδὲν  
 γὰρ ὅ τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἀξιόσ' εἰμι πάσχειν,  
 εἴπερ μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρων οὕτω μεγάλας ποι-  
 15 οὔμαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἰδίων  
 21 ταῦτά μοι προειρήσθω.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν, ὅσοι μὲν εὐθύς ἐπελθόντες  
 διδάσκουσιν, ὡς χρὴ διαλυσαμένους τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον τραπέσθαι, καὶ  
 20 διεξέρχονται τὰς τε συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου  
 τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένας καὶ τὰς ὠφε-  
 λείας τὰς ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἔσομέ-  
 νας, ἀληθῆ μὲν λέγουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ποιοῦνται  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὅθεν ἂν μάλιστα συστήσῃ ταῦτα δυ-  
 25 νηθεῖεν. Τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῖν, οἱ δ'  
 ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν· αἱ γὰρ πολιτεῖαι δι' ὧν  
 οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις οὕτω τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν δι-

Η δ  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ὅθεν ἂν  
 μάλιστα  
 συστήσῃ  
 ταῦτα  
 δυνηθεῖεν  
 25

The 2 leudino et alie n...  
 2 at hand of diano...  
 oligan...

in the beginning of their speeches  
apologizing for what they were going to say,  
that they had no preparation.

. I ask no favor.

exceeding the others in no respect.

he said once for all.

18 2 2 4 10 2





τῆς θαλάττης ἤρξε καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀμφισβητεῖ <sup>in contending</sup>  
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ δεῖ τούτους ἐφ'  
 ἐκάστω τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἔργων, τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους οὐ- <sup>most experienced</sup>  
 τας καὶ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἀναμφισβητήτως <sup>undeniably</sup>  
 5 ἡμῖν προσήκει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἥνπερ πρό-  
 τερον ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἐτέραν  
 πόλιν ἐπιδείξειε τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ  
 10 γῆν <sup>superior</sup> ὑπερέχουσαν, ὅσον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν τοῖς κιν-  
 δύνοις τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν διαφέρουσαν. Τοῦτο δ'  
 εἴ τινες ταύτην μὲν μὴ νομίζουσι δικαίαν εἶναι τὴν  
 κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς τὰς μεταβολὰς γίνεσθαι (τὰς <sup>changes</sup>  
 γὰρ <sup>power</sup> δυναστείας οὐδέποτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς παραμένειν),  
 15 ἀξιούσι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι γέ-  
 ρας ἢ τοὺς πρώτους τυχόντας ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἢ  
 τοὺς πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὄντας,  
 ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τούτους εἶναι μεθ' ἡμῶν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν  
 τις πορρωτέρωθεν <sup>σκοπῆ</sup> περὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων,  
 20 τοσοῦτῳ πλέον <sup>superior</sup> ἀπολείψομεν τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας.  
 Ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀρχαιοτά-  
 25 την εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις  
 ὀνομαστοτάτην· οὕτω δὲ καλῆς τῆς <sup>hypothesis</sup> ὑποθέσεως οὔσης,  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχομένοις τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς προσήκει  
 τιμᾶσθαι. Ταύτην γὰρ οἰκοῦμεν οὐχ ἐτέρους ἐκβα-  
 λόντες οὐδ' ἐρήμην καταλαβόντες οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν  
 30 ἔθνῶν μιγάδες συλλεγόντες, ἀλλ' οὕτω καλῶς καὶ  
 γνησίως γεγόναμεν, ὥστ', <sup>ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφθμεν</sup> ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφθμεν, ταύτην  
 ἔχοντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦμεν, αὐτόχθονες



4.11.11

we could treat S' as if we should go thro' (review)

Be stable, order besides.

How. Mānasa theory

Zenigma when one word must be taken in his sense

In the first place that of what an action Śāstra  
... is made

ντες καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων (τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷσπερ) τοὺς  
 ἰκειοτάτους τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες προσειπεῖν· μόνοις  
 γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὸν καὶ πα-  
 γρίδα καὶ μητέρα καλέσαι προσήκει. Καίτοι χρῆ  
 τοὺς εὐλόγως μέγα φρονούντας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμο- 6  
 νίας δικαίως ἀμφισβητοῦντας καὶ τῶν πατρίων πολ-  
 λάκις μεμνημένους τοιαύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους  
 ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι. 9

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξαντα καὶ παρὰ τῆς  
 τύχης δωρηθέντα τηλικαῦθ' ἡμῖν τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν· 10  
 ὅσων δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, οὕτως  
 ἂν κάλλιστ' ἐξετάσαιμεν, εἰ τὸν τε χρόνον ἀπ' ἀρ-  
 χῆς καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἐφεξῆς διέλθοι-  
 μεν· εὐρήσομεν γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν  
 πόλεμον κινδύνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς, 11  
 ἐν ἣ κατοικοῦμεν καὶ μεθ' ἧς πολιτευόμεθα καὶ δι'  
 ἣν ζῆν δυνάμεθα, σχεδὸν ἀπάσης αἰτίας οὖσαν.  
 Ἀνάγκη δὲ προαιρεῖσθαι τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν μὴ τὰς διὰ  
 μικρότητα διαλαθούσας καὶ κατασιωπηθείσας, ἀλλὰ 46  
 τὰς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ 20  
 πάλαι καὶ νῦν καὶ πανταχοῦ λεγομένας καὶ μνημο-  
 νεομένας.

Πρώτου μὲν τοίνυν, οὐ πρώτου ἢ φυσικῆς ἡμῶν  
 ἐδεήθη, διὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπορίσθη· καὶ  
 γὰρ εἰ μυθῶδες ὁ λόγος γέγονεν, ὅμως αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν 25  
 ρηθῆναι προσήκει. Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν  
 χώραν, ὅτ' ἐπληρήθη τῆς Κόρης ἀρπασθείσης, καὶ  
 προσέφη

πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ  
 τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς με-  
 5 μνημένοις ἀκούειν, καὶ δούσης δωρεάς, αἵπερ μέγι-  
 σται τυχεύουσιν οὐσαι, τοὺς τε καρποὺς, οἱ τοῦ μὴ  
 10 θηριωδῶς ἔην ἡμᾶς αἰτιοὶ γεγονάσι, καὶ τὴν τελετην-  
 ἣς οἱ μετασχοῦντες <sup>μετασχοῦντες</sup> περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ συμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίου τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχου-  
 σιν, οὕτως ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔσχεν, ὥστε κυρία γενομένη τοι-  
 15 οὔτων ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐφθόνησε τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ὧν  
 ἔλαβεν ἅπασι μετέδωκεν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν δεικνύμεν, τῶν δὲ <sup>συντακτικῶν</sup> συλ-  
 ληθῶν τὰς χρεῖας καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας καὶ τὰς ὠφε-  
 λίας τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένας εὐδαξεν. Καὶ τού-  
 20 τοις ἀπιστεῖν μικρῶν ἔτι προστεθέντων οὐδεὶς ἂν  
 ἀξιώσειεν.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις καταφρονήσειε  
 τῶν λεγομένων ὡς ἀρχαίων οὐτῶν, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν  
 τούτων εἰκότως ἂν καὶ τὰς πράξεις γεγενῆσθαι νο-  
 20 μίσειεν. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς εἰρηκεῖναι καὶ πάν-  
 τας ἀκηκοέναι προσήκει μὴ καινὰ μὲν, πιστὰ δὲ  
 δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐπειτ' οὐ  
 μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταφυγεῖν ἔχομεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον  
 καὶ τὴν φήμην ἐκ πολλοῦ παρελήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ  
 25 καὶ σημεῖοις μείζουσιν ἢ ταῦτοις ἔστιν ἡμῖν χρή-  
 σασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. Αἰ μὲν γὰρ πλείοσιν τῶν  
 πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρ-

on account of the good deeds

τῶν καλῶν ἔργων

of all eternity

mysteries  
fruits of earth

~ few arguments being added

what I have said

new-fangled but frustration-free

As their ought me to think received the  
gifts from the gods or

for  
X  
7  
1

7  
gifts  
p  
for

<sup>fruit</sup>  
 χάς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕναστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀπο-  
 πέμπουσι, ταῖς δ' ἐκλείπουσάις <sup>omission of fruit</sup> ἢ Πυ- <sup>ref. to</sup>  
 θία προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ <sup>fruit</sup> μέρη τῶν καρπῶν  
 καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πα- <sup>ancient</sup>  
 τρια. Καίτοι περὶ τίνων χρῆ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν 5 47  
 ἢ περὶ ὧν ὁ τε θεὸς ἀναίρει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν <sup>has ordained</sup>  
 Ἑλλήνων συνδοκεῖ, <sup>and</sup> τα <sup>of</sup> πάλαι ρηθέντα τοῖς  
 παροῦσιν ἔργοις <sup>and</sup> συμμαρτυρεῖ, <sup>and</sup> τὰ νῦν γιγνό-  
 μενα τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένους ὁμολογεῖ; Χω- <sup>benefit</sup>  
 ρις δὲ τούτων, ἦν ἅπαντα ταῦτ' εἰσάσαντες, ἀπὸ τῆς 10  
 ἀρχῆς <sup>of</sup> σκοποῦμεν <sup>we find</sup> εὐρησοῦμεν ὅτι τὸν βίον οἱ πρῶ- <sup>first</sup>  
 τοι <sup>of</sup> φανερῆς ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ εὐθὺς οὕτως ὥσπερ νῦν  
 ἔχοντα <sup>we find</sup> κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτοὶ <sup>benefit</sup>  
 πορίσαντο. Τίνας οὖν χρῆ μᾶλλον νομίζειν, ἢ <sup>to</sup>  
 δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν λαβεῖν, ἢ <sup>benefit</sup> ζητοῦντας αὐτοὺς 15  
 εὐτυχεῖν; Οὐ τοὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογουμένους <sup>and</sup>  
 πρώτους <sup>of</sup> γενομένους <sup>and</sup> πρὸς τε τὰς τέχνας <sup>of</sup>  
 φεστάτους ὄντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν <sup>of</sup> εὐσεβέ-  
 στατα διακειμένους; Καὶ μὴν ὅσης προσήκει τιμῆς  
 τυγχάνειν τοὺς <sup>of</sup> τηλικούτων αγαθῶν αἰτίους, περιερ- <sup>of</sup>  
 γον διδάσκειν. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν <sup>of</sup> δωρεὰν το-  
 σαύτην τὸ μέγεθος εὐρεῖν, ἥτις ἴση τοῖς πεπρα-  
 γμένοις ἐστίν. R.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν <sup>benefit</sup> εὐεργετημάτων  
 καὶ πρώτου γενομένου <sup>most common</sup> καὶ πᾶσι κοινωτάτου ταῦτ' 25  
 εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὀρώ-  
 σα τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὴν πλείστην τῆς χώρας



<sup>κομισιν</sup>  
 κατέχοντας, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας εἰς μικρὸν τόπον <sup>limit</sup>  
<sup>hemmed in</sup> <sup>power</sup>  
 κατακεκλειμένους καὶ διὰ θπανιοτήτα τῆς γῆς ἐπι-  
<sup>plottin</sup>  
 βουλευοντάς τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατείας, ἐπ'  
 ἀλλήλους ποιουμένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δι' ἐνδειαν τῶν  
 5 καθ' ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολλυμέ-  
<sup>being thus dispersed</sup>  
 νους, οὐδὲ ταυθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ' ἡγε-  
 μόνας εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἐξέπεμψεν, οἱ παραλαβόντες  
 τοὺς μάλιστα βίου δεομένους, στρατηγοὶ καταστα-  
<sup>hem arrested</sup> <sup>conquerors</sup>  
 τες αὐτῶν καὶ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες τοὺς βαρβά-  
 10 ρους, πολλὰς μὲν ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς ἡπείρου πόλεις  
<sup>conquered</sup> <sup>both</sup>  
 ἔκτισαν, ἀπίαςας δὲ τὰς νήσους, κατοκισίαν, ἀμφοτε-  
<sup>west, with them</sup> <sup>at</sup>  
 ρους δέ, καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπο-  
<sup>hem</sup> <sup>seized</sup> <sup>of them</sup>  
 μειναντας, ἔσωσαν τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἱκανῶς τὴν οἰκὴν  
<sup>hem</sup> <sup>had</sup>  
 χώραν κατέλιπον, τοῖς δὲ πλείω τῆς υπαρχούσης <sup>hem</sup>  
 15 ἐπόρισαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ περιεβάλλοντο τὸν τόπον ὃν  
<sup>hem</sup>  
 νῦν τυγχάνομεν κατέχοντες. Ἰ. Ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον  
 βουλευθεῖσιν ἀποκίσειν τινὰς καὶ μμησασθαι τὴν  
 πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πολλὴν ραστώνην ἐποίησαν·  
 οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει κτωμένους χώραν διακινδυνεύ-  
 20 ειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀφορισθεῖσαν, εἰς ταύ-  
 την οἰκεῖν ἰόντας. Καίτοι τίς ἂν ταύτης ἡγεμονίαν  
 ἐπιδείξειεν ἢ πατριωτέραν τῆς πρότερον γενομένης  
 πρὶν τὰς πλείστας οἰκισθῆναι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πό-  
 λεων, ἢ μᾶλλον συμφέρουσαν τῆς τοὺς μὲν βαρβά-  
 25 ρους ἀναστάτους ποιησάσης, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας εἰς  
 τοσαύτην εὐπορίαν προαγαγούσης;

Οὐ τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μέγιστα συνδιέπραξε, τῶν  
<sup>hem</sup>

did not respect this state of affairs  
taking these medals - placing themselves of ends.

Asia + Europe - ~~Asia~~ = Africa = Asia

more than they had at first

= Dorians

An ~~the~~ ~~history~~ of ~~the~~ ~~people~~

Life in these conditions does not yet amount  
to the desire of living she so craved for that

to

You would, from the following:-  
to living life's hardships.

and to think of the same for the first time

ἄλλων ὀλιγοώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ταύτην ἐποίη-  
 σατο τῶν <sup>ἡ ἐπιπέσει</sup> εὐεργεσιῶν, τροφήν τοῖς δεομένοις εὐρεῖν,  
 ἦνπερ <sup>ποιοῦσθε</sup> χρῆ τους μέλλοντας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 καλῶς <sup>το ἀπαιτοῦσι</sup> διοικήσειν, ἡγουμένη δὲ τὸν βίον τὸν ἐπὶ τού-  
 τοις μόνον οὐπω τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀξίως <sup>ἔχειν</sup> οὐ-  
 τως ἐπεμελήθη καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε τῶν παρόντων  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα <sup>ἔχομεν</sup> (μη) παρὰ θεῶν <sup>ἔχομεν</sup>  
 ἀλλὰ δι' ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γέγονε, μηδὲν μὲν ἄνευ τῆς  
 πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πλείστα διὰ ταύ-  
 την γεγενησθαι. <sup>10</sup> Παραβούσα γὰρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 ἀνόμως ζῶντας καὶ <sup>ἀπολλύουσα</sup> σποράδην οἰκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν ὑπὸ <sup>ἀναρχίας</sup> δυναστεσιῶν ὑβρίζομένους, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀναρ-  
 χίαν ἀπολλυμένους, καὶ τούτων τῶν κακῶν αὐτοὺς  
 ἀπήλλαξε, τῶν μὲν κυρία γενομένη, τοῖς δ' αὐτὴν  
<sup>παράδειγμα</sup> ποιήσασα· πρώτη γὰρ καὶ νόμους ἔθε-  
 15 το καὶ πολιτείας κατεστήσατο. Δῆλον δ' ἐκεῖθεν·  
 οἱ γὰρ <sup>ἔχουσιν</sup> ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τῶν φονικῶν ἐγκαλέσαντες,  
 καὶ βουληθέντες μετὰ λόγου καὶ μὴ μετὰ βίας  
 διαλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς  
 ἡμετέροις τὰς κρίσεις ἐποίησαντο περὶ αὐτῶν. 20

Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν τὰς τε πρὸς τὰναγ-  
 καῖα τοῦ βίου χρησίμας καὶ τὰς πρὸς <sup>ἡλικαντι</sup> ἡδονὴν μεμη-  
 χανημένας, τὰς μὲν εὐρούσα, πὰς δὲ δοκιμάσασα  
 χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέδωκεν. Τὴν τοίνυν ἄλλην  
 διοίκησιν <sup>οὐπω</sup> φιλοξένως κατεσκευάσατο καὶ πρὸς 25  
 ἅπαντας <sup>ὡστε</sup> οἰκείως, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς χρημάτων δεομένοις  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀπολαύσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν

ἀμφοτέροις ἀρμόττειν, καὶ μήτε τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσι  
 7 μήτε τοῖς δυστυχοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀχρηστῶς  
 ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέροις αὐτῶν εἶναι παρ' ἡμῖν, τοῖς  
 μὲν ἡδίστας διατριβάς, τοῖς δὲ ἀσφαλυστάτην κατα-  
 8 φυγῆν. Ἐτι δὲ τὴν χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη κέκτημένων  
 ἐκάστων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐλλείπουσαν, τὰ δὲ πλείω  
 τῶν ἰκανῶν φέρουσαν, καὶ πολλῆς ἀπορίας οὔσης  
 τὰ μὲν ὅπου χρὴ διαθέσθαι, τὰ δ' ὀπόθεν εἰσαγα-  
 γέσθαι, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπήμουνεν· ἐμ-  
 10 πόριον γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν Πειραιᾶ  
 κατεσκευάσατο, τοσαύτην ἔχονθ' ὑπερβολὴν, ὥσθ' ἂ  
 παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν παρ' ἐκάστων χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ  
 λαβεῖν, ταῦθ' ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥάδιον εἶναι πο-  
 ρίσασθαι.  
 15 Τῶν τοίνυν τὰς πανηγύρεις καταστησάντων δι-  
 καίως ἐπαινουμένων, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέ-  
 δοσαν, ὥστε σπεισαμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰς  
 ἔχθρας τὰς ἐνεστηκυίας διαλυσαμένους συνελθεῖν εἰς  
 ταῦτόν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας κοινὰς  
 20 ποιησαμένους ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν τῆς συγγενείας τῆς  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπαρχούσης, εὐμενεστέρως δ' εἰς τὸν  
 λοιπὸν χρόνον διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ  
 τὰς τε παλαιὰς ξενίας ἀνάνεωσάσθαι καὶ καινὰς  
 ἐτέρας ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἰδιώταις μήτε τοῖς  
 25 διενεγκουσι τὴν φύσιν ἀργὸν εἶναι τὴν διατριβήν,  
 ἀλλ' ἀθροισθέντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς  
 μὲν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰς αὐτῶν εὐτυχίας, τοῖς δὲ θε-

in their own cities

Plural = classes

"ετι δ'ε - 'ετιτα  
am. do.

There being a scarcity of places where  
dispose of some and thence to bring in  
others.

The subj of this periodic sentence 15.27

Since these do — are justly punished & come

so that — become & not then after —  
we call to mind the old statement of it  
and more fully disposed for this part. —  
so that neither to or is this a useless thing

numbers are dependent.

... ..

ἄσασθαι τοίτους πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζομένους, καὶ  
 μηδετέρους ἀθύμως διάγειν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρους ἔχειν  
 ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ὅταν ἴδωσι τοὺς  
 ἀθλητὰς αὐτῶν ἕνεκα ποιοῦντας, οἱ δ' ὅταν ἐνθυ-  
 μηθῶσιν, ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν <sup>ἐχθροβελίαν</sup>  
 ἤκουσι, — τοσοῦτων τοίνυν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τὰς συνό-  
 δους ἡμῖν γιγνομένων, οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν  
 ἀπελείφθη. Καὶ γὰρ θεάματα πλείστα καὶ κάλλι-  
 στα κέκτηται, τὰ μὲν ταῖς <sup>ἐπιχειρήσεως</sup> δαπαναῖς ὑπερβάλλοντα,  
 τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς <sup>αὐτῆς</sup> τέχνας εὐδοκιμοῦντα, τὰ δ' ἀμφο- 10  
 τέροις τούτοις διαφέροντα· καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν εἰ-  
 σαφικνουμένων ὡς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥστ', εἴ τι  
 ἐν τῷ πλησιάζειν ἀλλήλοις ἀγαθόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦθ'  
 ὑπ' αὐτῆς περιειλήφθαι. **A** — **Υ** 26

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ φιλίας εὐρεῖν πιστοτάτας καὶ 15  
 συνουσίαις ἐντυχεῖν παντοδαπωτάταις μάλιστα παρ'  
 ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἔτι δὲ ἀγῶνας ἰδεῖν, μὴ μόνον τάχους  
 καὶ ῥώμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων καὶ γνώμης καὶ τῶν <sup>50</sup>  
 ἄλλων ἔργων ἀπάντων, καὶ τούτων ἄθλα μέγιστα.  
 Πρὸς γὰρ οἷς αὐτὴ τίθησι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδόναι 20  
 συναναπείθει· τὰ γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν κριθέντα τοσαύτην  
 λαμβάνει δόξαν, ὥστε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγα-  
 πᾶσθαι. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πανηγύ-  
 ρεις διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου συλλεγεῖσθαι ταχέως διελύ-  
 θησαν, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα τοῖς 25  
 ἀφικνουμένοις πανήγυρίς ἐστιν.

Φιλοσοφίαν τοίνυν, ἡ πάντα ταῦτα συνεξεῦρε καὶ



συγκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρὸς τε τὰς πράξεις ἡμᾶς  
 ἐπαίδευσεν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους <sup>μεταξύ</sup> ἐπράυνεν, καὶ τῶν συμ-  
 φωρῶν τὰς τε δι' ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γι-  
 γνομένας διείλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν φυλάσασθαι, τὰς δὲ  
 5 καλῶς ἐνεγκεῖν ἐδίδαξεν, ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν κατέδειξε,  
 καὶ λόγους ἐτίμησεν, ὧν πάντες μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τοῖς  
 δ' ἐπισταμένοις φθονοῦσι, συνειδυῖα μὲν, ὅτι τοῦτο  
 μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ζώων ἴδιον ἔφυμεν ἔχοντες,  
 καὶ διότι τούτῳ πλεονεκτήσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 10 ἅπασιν αὐτῶν διηνέγαμεν, ὁρῶσα δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰς  
 ἄλλας πράξεις οὕτω παραχῶδεις οὔσας τὰς τύχας,  
 ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους ἀτυ-  
 χεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους κατορθοῦν, τῶν δὲ λόγων  
 τῶν καλῶς καὶ τεχνικῶς ἐχόντων οὐ μετὸν τοῖς  
 15 φαύλοις, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς εὖ φρονούσης ἔργον ὄντας, καὶ  
 τοῦς, τε σοφοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς δοκοῦντας εἶναι  
 ταύτῃ πλείστον ἀλλήλων διαφέροντας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς  
 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλευθέρως τεθραμμένους ἐκ μὲν ἀν-  
 δρίας καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν οὐ  
 20 γιγνωσκομένους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λεγομένων μάλιστα κα-  
 ταφανεῖς γιγνομένους, καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον τῆς παι-  
 δεύσεως ἡμῶν ἐκάστου πιστότατον ἀποδεδειγμένον,  
 καὶ τοὺς λόγῳ καλῶς χρωμένους οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς  
 αὐτῶν δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν-  
 25 τίμους ὄντας.

Τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπολέλοιπεν ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν περὶ τὸ  
 φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ὥσθ' οἱ

generosity of bad = calamities

eloquence -

(Having had some peculiarities to do from all  
Sirey being) a d. of note.  
and fortune is so combined that  
the wide are industry & increase.

but they are the result of a wide world

are not known by - but appeared  
wander - from what they say

Left other men have which with in resp to d

Is he lingering over partō, while preparation is made?  
The states must be passing the city being at a loss  
for state things - provision her for in rest of time

benefit benefit

1. 3. 110 1 1.2

... the administration  
... in advantage

ταύτης μ  
τὸ τῶν  
ἀλλὰ  
καλείο  
τῆς κ  
"Ἰ  
ὄλοι  
ἐγκα  
μον  
τοὺς  
τοῖς  
τιμᾶ  
γὰρ  
μειν  
τοὺς  
τῶν  
διετ  
ἀδικ  
δὴ  
λενο  
πέυε  
ἡμᾶ  
ἀγν  
μα  
πε  
εἶδ  
μει

ταύτης μαθηταὶ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποιήκε μηκέτι τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον Ἑλληνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδείσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας. — 5

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶ περὶ τὰ μέρη διατρίβειν ὑπὲρ ὄλων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑποθέμενος μηδ' ἐκ τούτων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν πόλιν ἀπορῶν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὴν ἐπαινεῖν, ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλοτιμουμένους, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ 10 τοῖς προγούνοις ἡμῶν οὐχ ἦττον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων τιμᾶσθαι προσήκειν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργεσιῶν. Οὐ γὰρ μικροὺς οὐδ' ὀλίγους οὐδ' ἀφανεῖς ἀγῶνας ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ μεγάλους, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς 15 τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίας· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν κοινὴν τὴν πόλιν παρέχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαμύνουσιν. Διὸ δὴ καὶ κατηγοροῦσιν τινες ἡμῶν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευομένων, ὅτι τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους εἰθίσμεθα θεραπεύειν, ὥσπερ οὐ μετὰ τῶν ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένων ἡμᾶς τοὺς λόγους ὄντας τοὺς τοιούτους. Οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅσον διαφέρουσιν αἱ μείζους τῶν συμμαχιῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν οὕτως ἐβουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβέστερον 25 εἰδότες τὰ συμβαίνοντ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὁμῶς ἡρούμεθα τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον

βοηθειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσι τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἕνεκα συναδικεῖν.

Γνοίη δ' ἂν τις καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ἱκετειῶν, ἃς ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῖν ἐποίησαντο. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἢ νεωστὶ γεγενημένας ἢ περὶ μικρῶν ἐλθούσας παραλείψω· πολὺ δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, (ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ δίκαιον τὰς <sup>μυθῶν</sup>πίστεις λαμβάνειν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφισβητοῦντας) ἤλθον οἱ θ' Ἑρακλέους παῖδες καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων Ἄδραστος ὁ Ταλαοῦ, βασιλεὺς ὢν Ἄργους, οὗτος μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ Θήβας δεδυστυχηκῶς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ τελευτήσαντας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἀνελέσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀξιῶν βοηθεῖν ταῖς κοιναῖς τύχαις καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀποθνήσκοντας ἀτάφους γιγνομένους μηδὲ παλαιὸν ἔθος καὶ πάτριον νόμον καταλυόμενον, οἱ δ' Ἑρακλέους παῖδες φεύγοντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ἔχθραν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ὑπερορῶντες ὡς οὐκ ἂν δυναμένας βοηθῆσαι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν συμφοραῖς, τὴν δ' ἡμετέραν ἱκανὴν νομίζοντες εἶναι μόνην ἀποδοῦναι χάριν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πατήρ αὐτῶν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους εὐεργέτησεν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ῥάδιον κατιδεῖν, ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡγεμονικῶς εἶχε· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἱκετεύειν τολμήσειεν ἢ τοὺς ἥττους αὐτοῦ ἢ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέροις ὄντας, παραλιπὼν τοὺς μείζω δύνανται ἔχοντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ πραγμάτων οὐκ ἰδίων, ἀλλὰ κοινῶν καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδένας ἄλ-

the earlier miles καταλείβει

Exp. at head Adrasius ? die years and ..  
brother's tales - all killed in - all ..  
a second exp. is Feb. in ..  
the Sept. .. with Adrasius.

No one would .. such a ..

in a pile of his enemies

Excellence

many of his leading business men

... to ...

λους  
των  
φαι  
προ  
των  
παί  
μν.  
θάν  
δὲ  
λόι  
ὑβ,  
λα  
κίμ  
σοι  
ικε  
ῶσ  
βι  
ικε  
κό  
νώ  
ἐπ  
τέ  
κα  
γε  
πό  
συ

οὐς εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιμεληθῆναι πλὴν τοὺς προεστάναι  
 οὐν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιούοντας; Ἐπειτ' οὐδὲ ψευσθέντες  
 αἰνούνται τῶν ἐλπίδων, δι' ἃς κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 οογόνους ἡμῶν. Ἀνελόμενοι γὰρ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ μὲν  
 οὐν τελευτησάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν 5  
 αἰδῶν τῶν Ἡρακλέους πρὸς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύνα-  
 μιν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι  
 ἰφθαί τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς προσήκουσι, Πελοποννησίων  
 ἢ τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυσθέως εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν εἰσβα-  
 ούτας ἐπεξελθόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι κάκεινον τῆς 10  
 βρεως ἔπαυσαν. Θαυμαζόμενοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἄλ-  
 ας πράξεις, ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐδο-  
 ἰμησαν. Οὐ γὰρ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ το-  
 οῦτον τὰς τύχας ἐκατέρων μετήλλαξαν, ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν  
 αετεύειν ἡμᾶς ἀξιώσας βία τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄπανθ' 15  
 στων ἐδεήθη διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆλθεν, Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ  
 ἰάσασθαι προσδοκήσας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος γενόμενος  
 αέτης ἠναγκάσθη καταστῆναι, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπερενεγ-  
 οῦντι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ὃς ἐκ Διὸς μὲν γεγο-  
 ῶς, ἔτι δὲ θνητὸς ὢν θεοῦ ῥώμην ἔσχε, τούτῳ μὲν 20  
 πιτάττων καὶ λυμαινόμενος ἄπαντα τὸν χρόνον διε-  
 ἔλεσεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξήμαρτεν, εἰς τοσαύτην 25  
 ατέστη μεταβολὴν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου  
 ενόμενος ἐπονειδίστως τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν.

Πολλῶν δ' ὑπαρχουσῶν ἡμῖν εὐεργεσιῶν εἰς τὴν 25  
 γόλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, περὶ ταύτης μόνης μοι  
 ὑμβέβηκεν εἰπεῖν· ἀφορμὴν γὰρ λαβόντες τὴν δι'



ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς γενομένην σωτηρίαν οἱ πρόγονοι μὲν  
 τῶν νῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι βασιλευόντων, ἕκγονοι δ'  
 Ἑρακλέους, κατήλθον μὲν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, κατέ-  
 σχον δ' Ἄργος καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Μεσσίην, οἰ-  
 5 κισταὶ δὲ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν παρόντων  
 ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπάντων ἀρχηγοὶ κατέστησαν. Ὡν  
 ἕχρην ἐκείνους μεμνημένους μηδέποτ' εἰς τὴν χώραν  
 ταύτην εἰσβαλεῖν, ἐξ ἧς ὀρμηθέντες αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγο-  
 νοι τοσαύτην εὐδαιμονίαν κατεκτήσαντο, μηδ' εἰς κιν-  
 10 δύνους καθιστάναι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων  
 τῶν Ἑρακλέους προκινδυνεύσασαν, μηδὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀπ'  
 ἐκείνου γεγονόσι δίδόναι τὴν βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῷ  
 γένει τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτίαν οὖσαν δουλεύειν αἰτοῖς  
 ἀξιούν. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς χάριτας καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικείας  
 15 ἀνελόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ  
 τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν, οὐ δὴ που πά-  
 τριον ἐστὶν ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ ἡλυδάς τῶν αὐτοχθόνων,  
 οὐδὲ τοὺς εὐπαθόντας τῶν εὐποιησάντων, οὐδὲ  
 τοὺς ἰκέτας γενομένους τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων.

20 Ἐτι δὲ συντομώτερον ἔχω δηλώσει περὶ αὐτῶν.  
 Τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, χωρὶς τῆς ἡμετέ-  
 ρας, Ἄργος καὶ Θῆβαι καὶ Λακεδαίμων καὶ τότε  
 ἦσαν μέγιστα καὶ νῦν ἔτι διατελοῦσι. Φαίνονται  
 δ' ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τοσοῦτον ἀπάντων διενεγκόντες,  
 25 ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἀργείων δυστυχησάντων Θηβαίοις,  
 ὅτε μέγιστον ἐφρόνησαν, ἐπιτάττουτες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν  
 παίδων τῶν Ἑρακλέους Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους

It would have been right

$= \pi \epsilon_0$  in the case of.

in the case of  $\epsilon_0$  and  $\epsilon_0$  in the case of.

Πελοποννησίους μάχη κρατήσαντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς  
 Εὐρυσθέα κινδύνων τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων <sup>προσέειπε</sup> διασώσαντες (J) ὥστε περὶ μὲν  
 τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι <sup>ἐπιδείξαι</sup> δυνάστείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν  
 τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξαι δυνηθείη. 5

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους <sup>54</sup>  
 τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένων προσήκειν εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τ'  
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν <sup>εὐφρέει</sup> λόγον <sup>ἠνάει</sup> κατεστησάμην περὶ τῆς ἡγεμο-  
 νίας τῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνους. Ἄπαντας μὲν οὖν ἐξαριθμῶν  
 τοὺς κινδύνους <sup>ὡς ἐόντες</sup> λίαν ἂν μακρολογοίην· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν με- 10  
 γίστων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ ὀλίγη πρότερον πει-  
 ράσομαι καὶ περὶ τούτων διελθεῖν. Ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχι-  
 κώτατα μὲν τῶν γενῶν καὶ μεγίστας δυναστείας ἔχοντα  
 Σκύθαι καὶ Θρᾶκες καὶ Πέρσαι, (τυγχάνουσι) δ' οὗτοι  
 μὲν ἅπαντες ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς 15  
 ἅπαντας τούτους <sup>ἐκινδύνευσεν</sup> διακινδύνευσασα. Καίτοι τί λοιπὸν  
 ἔσται τοῖς <sup>ἀντιλέγουσιν</sup> ἀντιλέγουσιν, ἢν ἐπιδειχθῶσι τῶν μὲν  
 Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τυγχάνειν τῶν δικαίων  
 ἡμᾶς <sup>ἰκετεύειν</sup> ἰκετεύειν ἀξιούντες, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ βου-  
 λόμενοι <sup>καταδουλωσασθαι</sup> καταδουλωσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς 20  
 πρώτους ἰόντες ;

Ἐπιφανέστατος μὲν οὖν τῶν πολέμων ὁ Περσικὸς  
 γέγονεν, οὐ μὴν ἐλάττω τεκμήρια τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν  
 ἔργων ἐστὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πατριῶν ἀμφισβητοῦσιν.  
 Ἔτι γὰρ τᾶπεινῆς οὕσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦλθον εἰς 25  
 τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν Θρᾶκες μὲν μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ  
 Ποσειδῶνος, Σκύθαι δὲ μετ' Ἀμαζόνων τῶν Ἄρεως

θυγατέρων, οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃν  
 ἐκάτεροι τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπήρχον, μισοῦντες μὲν ἅπαν  
 τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐγκλή-  
 ματα ποιησάμενοι, νομίζοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου  
 5 πρὸς μίαν μὲν πόλιν κινδυνεύσειν, ἀπασῶν δὲ ἅμα  
 κρατήσειν. Οὐ μὴν κατώρθωσαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνους  
 τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους συμβαλόντες ὁμοίως  
 διεφθάρησαν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους  
 ἐπολέμησαν. Δῆλον δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν τῶν  
 10 γενομένων ἐκείνοις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποθ' οἱ λόγοι περὶ  
 αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον διέμειναν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πρα-  
 χθέντα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διήνεγκεν. Λέγεται δ' οὖν  
 περὶ μὲν Ἀμαζόνων, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐλθουσῶν οὐδεμία  
 πάλιν ἀπήλθεν, αἱ δ' ὑπολειφθεῖσαι διὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε  
 15 συμφοραν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξεβλήθησαν, περὶ δὲ Θρα-  
 κῶν, ὅτι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὁμόροι προσοικούντες ἡμῖν  
 διὰ τὴν τότε γεγενημένην στρατείαν τοσοῦτον διέλι-  
 πον, ὥστ' ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς χώρας ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ  
 γένη παντοδαπὰ καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας κατοικισθῆναι.  
 20 Καλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πρέποντα τοῖς περὶ  
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν· ἀδελφὰ δὲ τῶν εἰρη-  
 μένων καὶ τοιαῦθ', οἷά περ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐκ τοιούτων  
 γεγονότας οἱ πρὸς Δαρεῖον καὶ Ξέρξην πολεμήσαντες  
 ἔπραξαν. Μεγίστου γὰρ πολέμου συστάντος ἐκείνου,  
 25 καὶ πλείστων κινδύνων εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον συμπε-  
 σόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἀνυποστάτων οἰομέ-  
 νων εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἀνυπέρ-

Reasons for not

Traditions

Fair + helpful  
parallel to what you often find in writing.  
Subj πράξαι: sc. τίς is subj ἔστω sc.

although

ἄ + ὑγιότιμη would be ἄ + ὑγιότιμη.

as it was filling the whole camp each.  
sc.  $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon$  subj  $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\kappa\eta$  that ...  
subj is subj leading verb.

The precedence of valor

Case 1 - the place to speak first, i.e.,  
to be the last one to speak.

Having been treated with their ladies  
He is made to receive them.

βλητον ἡγουμένων ἔχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀμφοτέρων κρατήσαντες ὡς ἑκατέρων προσήκεν, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κινδύνους διευεγκόντες, εὐθύς μὲν τῶν ἀριστείων ἠξιώθησαν, οὐ πολλῶ δ' ὕστερον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἔλαβον, δόντων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἀμφισβητούντων δὲ τῶν νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ζητούντων.

Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτιοὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατέστησαν· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἰο μάλλον ἐπαινεῖν ἔχω τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι τοιούτων ἀνταγωνιστῶν τυχοῦσα τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν διήνεγκεν. Βούλομαι δ' ὀλίγη μακρότερα περὶ τοῖν πολέοιν εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ ταχὺ λίαν παραδραμεῖν, ἵν' ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῖν ὑπόμνημα γένηται, τῆς τε τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔχθρας. Καίτοι μ' οὐ λέληθεν, ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἔστιν ὕστατον ἐπελθόντα λέγειν περὶ πραγμάτων πάλαι προκατελιημμένων καὶ περὶ ὧν οἱ μάλιστα δυναθέντες τῶν πολιτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ μὲν μέγιστ' αὐτῶν ἤδη κατακεχρησθαι, μικρὰ δέ τινα παραλελείφθαι. Ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων, ἐπειδὴ συμφέρει τοῖς πράγμασι, οὐκ ὀκνητέον μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Πλείστον μὲν οὖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους καὶ μεγίστων ἐπαινῶν ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τοῖς σώμασι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προκινδυνεύσαντας· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ



τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου γενομένων καὶ δυνα-  
 στευσάντων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τοῖν πολέοιν δίκαιον ἀμνημο-  
 νεῖν· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προασκήσαντες τοὺς ἐπι-  
 γυγνομένους καὶ τὰ πλήθη προτρέψαντες ἐπ' ἀρετὴν  
 5 καὶ χαλεποὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς τοῖς βαρβάροις ποιήσαν-  
 τες. Οὐ γὰρ ὀλιγώρουν τῶν κοινῶν, οὐδ' ἀπέλανον  
 μὲν ὡς ἰδίων, ἡμέλουν δ' ὡς ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἐκή-  
 δοντο μὲν ὡς οἰκείων, ἀπείχοντο δ' ὥσπερ χρὴ τῶν  
 μηδὲν προσηκόντων· οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν εὐδαι-  
 10 μονίαν ἔκρινον, ἀλλ' οὗτος ἐδόκει πλούτον ἀσφαλέ-  
 στατον κεκτῆσθαι καὶ κάλλιστον, ὅστις τοιαῦτα τυγ-  
 χάνοι πράττων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτός τε μέλλοι μάλιστ' εὐδο-  
 κιμήσειν καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μεγίστην δόξαν καταλείψειν.  
 Οὐδὲ τὰς θρασύτητας τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐζήλουν, οὐδὲ  
 15 τὰς τόλμας τὰς αὐτῶν ἤσκουν, ἀλλὰ δεινότερον μὲν  
 ἐνόμιζον εἶναι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούειν ἢ κα-  
 λῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθνήσκειν, μᾶλλον δ' ἠσχύ-  
 νοντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 ἰδίοις τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν.  
 20 Τούτων δ' ἦν αἴτιον, ὅτι τοὺς νόμους ἐσκόπουν  
 ὅπως ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν, οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς  
 περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ὡς τοὺς περὶ τῶν καθ'  
 ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· ἠπίσταντο γάρ,  
 ὅτι τοῖς καλοῖς καγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν δεήσει  
 25 πολλῶν γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀλίγων συνθημάτων ῥα-  
 δίδως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ὁμο-  
 νοήσουσιν. Οὕτω δὲ πολιτικῶς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ τὰς

mascul. act. fem. nouns.

They did not despise the common man nor  
nor enjoy while they enjoyed them as birds  
despised him as another's act while...

This one seemed to have assumed the safest +  
best result who happens to be doing.

kekymodau

of notes.

(Cnd. rel. sent. gave supp past time)  
Indirect disc for subj into dir past time.

It was with some attachment at public rooms -  
doney than reason.

Prolepsis

exact and good

It organized parties against another, not in respect  
to which of the two after suppressing the other  
should rule the rest

For this are formal organizations

intentional efforts.

participates of manner.

but not to be stigmatized as distributions.

as to which by the 'available  
not so high minded as JACOBS

Subj. error sc. of 'big' box

They made these into matter to have that  
more has been used to identify

For this case -

For it to be necessary

στάσεις ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ ὀπότεροι τοὺς  
 ἑτέρους ἀπολέσαντες τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὀπό-  
 τεροι φθῆσονται τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσαντες·  
 καὶ τὰς ἑταιρείας συνήγουν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδία συμ-  
 φερόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὠφελείᾳ. Τὸν <sup>5</sup>  
 αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διώκουν, θερα-  
 πεύοντες, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ  
 στρατηγεῖν οἰόμενοι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννεῖν αὐτῶν,  
 καὶ μάλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡγεμόνες ἢ δεσπόται προσα-  
 γορεύεσθαι καὶ σωτῆρες, ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες ἀποκα- <sup>10</sup>  
 λείσθαι, τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ προσαγόμενοι τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ'  
 οὐ βία καταστρεφόμενοι, πιστοτέροις μὲν τοῖς λόγοις  
 ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὄρκοις χρώμενοι, ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ὥσπερ <sup>15</sup>  
 ἀνάγκαις ἐμμένειν ἀξιοῦντες, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ ταῖς δυ-  
 ναστείαις μέγα φρονούντες, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ σωφρόνως ζῆν  
 φιλοτιμούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντες γνώμην ἔχειν πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἦπτους, ἦνπερ τοὺς κρείττους πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς,  
 ἴδια μὲν ἄστη τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις ἡγούμενοι, κοινὴν δὲ  
 πατρίδα τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζοντες εἶναι.

Τοιαύταις διανοίαις χρώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους <sup>20</sup>  
 ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἦθεσι παιδεύοντες, οὕτως ἄνδρας  
 ἀγαθοὺς ἀπέδειξαν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας, ὥστε μηδένα πώποτε δυνηθῆναι περὶ αὐ-  
 τῶν μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀξίως  
 τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν. Καὶ πολλὴν αὐ- <sup>25</sup>  
 τοῖς ἔχω συγγνώμην· ὁμοίως γάρ ἐστι χαλεπὸν  
 ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς ὑπερβεβληκότας τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετάς,

ὥσπερ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν πεπονηκότας· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπείσει πράξεις, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀρμόττοντες λόγοι. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο σύμμετροι τοιοῦτοις ἀνδράσι, οἳ τοσοῦτον μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρα-  
 5 τευσαμένων διήνεγκαν, ὅσον οἱ μὲν περὶ μίαν πόλιν ἔτη δέκα διέτριψαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας δύναμιν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατεπολέμησαν, οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διέσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σύμπα-  
 10 πόνων ἢ κινδύνων ἀπέστησαν, ὥστε ζῶντες εὐδοκιμεῖν, οἷτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης ἧς ἔμελλον τελευτήσαντες ἔξαι οὕτως <sup>κίβη + κίβη</sup> ἐτοιμῶς ἠθελον ἀποθνήσκειν; Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεῶν τινα συναγαγεῖν ἀγασθέντα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι τὴν φύ-  
 15 σιν διαλάβοιεν μηδ' ἀκλεῶς τὸν βίον τελευτήσαιεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν γεγονόσι καὶ καλουμένοις ἡμιθέοις ἀξιωθεῖεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων τὰ μὲν σώματα ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκαις ἀπέδωσαν, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην ἐποίησαν.

20 Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν οἳ θ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φιλοτίμως πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ καλλίστων ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐφιλο-  
 νίκησαν, οὐκ ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ἀνταγωνιστάς σφᾶς αὐ-  
 τοὺς εἶναι νομίζοντες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ τῶν Ἑλ-  
 25 λήνων τὸν βάρβαρον θεραπεύοντες, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ὁμονοοῦντες, ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτης αἴτιοι γενήσονται, περὶ τούτου ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄμιλ-

Τὸν = ... δεῖ ἔχει δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ  
τὸν = ... πρὸς τὸν ἀποστόλῳ  
οἱ οὗτοι οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου

so much that - - -

concl. par 4.

from what would they have obtained so as to  
be honored while alive who wished to die  
so readily for the reputation which they would  
have had had they died. But I think that  
one of the gods ... of 49 ... is  
accus. & perf.

worthy of the same things as demigods ...  
gave over their bodies to the necessities of  
nature ...

but made recoll. of their further immortality.

not however but = yet sc. τὰς ἀθανάτων.

his

The value of both parties.

No. 10 or 11. 11. 11. 11.

So they pressed on the one to share the day  
the other to attack before the colonics came

They were to return the day and said the  
the next day

11. 11. 11.

λαν. Ἐπεδείξαντο δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀρετὰς πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθείσιν. Ἐποβάντων γὰρ  
 αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μὲν οὐ περιέμειναν τοὺς  
 συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινὸν πόλεμον ἴδιον ποιησάμε-  
 νοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταφρονήσαν-  
 τας ἀπήντων τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι πρὸς  
 πολλὰς μυριάδας, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλ-  
 λοντες κινδυνεύειν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφθησαν πυθόμενοι τὸν  
 περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἀμελήσαντες ἤκου ἡμῖν ἀμνούντες, τοσαύτην ποιησά-  
 μενοι σπουδὴν, ὅσην περ ἂν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας πορ-  
 θουμένης. Σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης·  
 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρους προγόνους φασὶ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἡμέρας πυθέσθαι τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν τῶν βαρβά-  
 ρων, καὶ βοηθήσαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας  
 μάχῃ νικήσαντας τρόπαιον στήσαι τῶν πολεμίων,  
 τοὺς δ' ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καὶ τοσαύταις νυξὶ διακό-  
 σια καὶ χίλια στάδια διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ πορευομέ-  
 νους. Οὕτω σφόδρ' ἠπέιχθησαν οἱ μὲν μετασχεῖν  
 τῶν κινδύνων, οἱ δὲ φθῆναι συμβαλόντες, πρὶν ἔλθειν  
 τοὺς βοηθήσοντας.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης τῆς ὕστερον στρατείας,  
 ἦν αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἤγαγεν, ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὰ βασίλεια,  
 στρατηγὸς δὲ καταστήναι τολμήσας, ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας συναγείρας· (περὶ οὗ τίς οὐχ ὑπερβο-  
 λὰς προθυμηθεὶς εἰπεῖν ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων εἴ-  
 ρηκεν;) ὃς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθεν ὑπερηφανίας, ὥστε



μικρὸν μὲν ἠγησάμενος ἔργον εἶναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα χει-  
 ρώσασθαι, βουλευθεῖς δὲ τοιοῦτον μνημείου καταλι-  
 πεῖν, ὃ μὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεώς ἐστιν, οὐ πρό-  
 τερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἐξεῦρε καὶ συνηνάγκασεν ὃ  
 5 πάντες θρυλοῦσιν, ὥστε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλεύσαι μὲν  
 διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου, πεζεύσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης,  
 τὸν μὲν Ἑλλησποντον ζεύξας, τὸν δ' Ἄθω διορύξας:  
 Πρὸς δὴ τὸν οὕτω μέγα φρονήσαντα καὶ τηλικαῦ-  
 τα διαπραξάμενον καὶ τοσούτων δεσπότην γενόμενον  
 10 ἀπῆντων διελόμενοι τὸν κίνδυνον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν  
 εἰς Θερμοπύλας πρὸς τὸ πεζόν, χιλίους αὐτῶν ἐπιλέ-  
 ξαντες καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγους παραλαβόντες, ὡς  
 ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κωλύουσιν αὐτοὺς περαιτέρω προελ-  
 θεῖν, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πατέρες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐξήκον-  
 15 τα τριήρεις πληρώσαντες πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πολε-  
 μίων ναυτικόν.

Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων, οὐχ οὕτω τῶν πολεμίων  
 καταφρονούντες, ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιῶντες, Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι μὲν <sup>οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει</sup> ζηλοῦντες τὴν πόλιν τῆς Μαραθῶνι  
 20 μάχης, καὶ ζητοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐξιῶσαι, καὶ δεδιότες,  
 (μὴ) δις ἐφεξῆς ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτία (γενήται) τοῖς Ἑλ-  
 λησι τῆς σωτηρίας, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι μάλιστα μὲν βου-  
 λόμενοι διαφυλάξαι τὴν <sup>ἡμετέραν</sup> παρούσαν δόξαν, καὶ πᾶσι  
 25 <sup>καταδεικνύσασθαι</sup> ποιῆσαι φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ πρότερον δι' ἀρετὴν,  
 ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τύχην ἐνίκησαν, <sup>70, 2</sup> ἔπειτα καὶ προαγαγέ-  
 σθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὸ διαναυμαχεῖν, ἐπιδείξαντες  
 αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς κινδύνοις, ὥσπερ ἐν

will be revised and amended that  
such is on the lips of all men

prime. verb.

2011 102

the ... ..

...

...

...

...

... ..

τοῖς πεζοῖς, τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ πλήθους περιγυρομένην  
 Ἰσας δὲ τὰς τόλμας παρασχόντες οὐχ ὁμοίαις ἐχρή-  
 σαντο ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διεφθάρσαν· καὶ ταῖς  
 ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέειπον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ  
 τοῦτό γε θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἠττήθησαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ  
 αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἤξιωσεν), οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τὰς μὲν πρό-  
 πλους ἐνίκησαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤκουσαν τῆς παρόδου τῶν  
 πολεμίους κρατούντας, οἴκαδ' καταπλεύσαντες οὕτως  
 ἐβουλευσάντο περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε πολλῶν καὶ  
 καλῶν αὐτοῖς προειργασμένων ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῶν 10  
 κινδύνων ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκαν.

Ἀθύμως γὰρ ὑπάντων τῶν συμμάχων διακειμένων,  
 καὶ Πελοποννησίων μὲν διατειχιζόντων τὸν Ἴσθμον  
 καὶ ζητούντων ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν, τῶν ἄλλων πό-  
 λεων ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γεγενημένων καὶ συστρα-  
 τευομένων ἐκείνοις, πλὴν εἴ τις διὰ μικροτήτα ἡμε-  
 λήθη, προσπλευσῶν δὲ τριήρων διακοσίων καὶ χιλί-  
 ων καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναριθμήτου μελλούσης εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσβάλλειν, οὐδεμιᾶς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς  
 ὑποφαινομένης, ἀλλ' ἔρημοι συμμάχων γεγενημένοι καὶ 20  
 τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπασῶν διημαρτηκότες, ἔξου αὐτοῖς μὴ  
 μόνον τοὺς παρόντας κινδύνους διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τιμὰς ἔξαιρέτους λαβεῖν, ἃς αὐτοῖς (ἐδίδου) βασιλεὺς  
 ἡγούμενος, εἰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως προσλάβοι ναυτικόν, πα-  
 ραχρῆμα καὶ Πελοποννήσου κρατήσῃ, οὐχ ὑπέμει-  
 ναν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρεάς, οὐδ' ὀργισθέντες τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι προὔδωθησαν, ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὰς διαλ

αλλήλων  
 λαγας τὰς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὤρμησαν, ἀλλ' αὐ  
 τοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο,  
 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τὴν δουλείαν αἰρουμένοις <sup>ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ</sup> συγγνωμῆν  
 εἶχον. Ἐγούντο γὰρ ταῖς μὲν <sup>ἐπὶ τῷ πόλεμῳ</sup> ταπειναῖς τῶν πόλεων

5 προσήκειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν,  
 ταῖς δὲ πρᾶξάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀξιούσαις οὐχ οἷον  
 τ' εἶναι, διαφεύγειν τοὺς κινδύνους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς <sup>ἡ ἀρετῆς</sup> αἰρετώτεροί ἐστι καλῶς  
 ἀποθανεῖν ἢ <sup>ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ</sup> ζῆν αἰσχροῦς, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων ταῖς  
 10 ὑπερεχούσαις <sup>ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ</sup> λυσιτελεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ δούλαις <sup>ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ</sup> ὀφθῆναις γενομένοις. <sup>ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς</sup>

Δῆλον δ' ὅτι ταῦτα διενόηθησαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐχ  
 οἰοί τ' ἦσαν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας ἀμα παρατάξασθαι τὰς  
 δυνάμεις, παραλαβόντες ἅπαντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐκ  
 15 τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσου ἐξέπλευσαν, ἵν'  
 ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἑκατέραν κινδυνεύσωσιν.

Καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἐκείνων ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἢ μᾶλλον  
 φιλέλληνας ὄντες ἐπιδειχθεῖεν, οὔτινες ἐτόλμησαν ἐπι-  
 δεῖν, ὥστε μὴ τοῖς λοιποῖς αἴτιοι γενέσθαι τῆς δου-  
 20 λείας, ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν (γενομένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν  
 πορθουμένην, ἰερά δὲ <sup>ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ</sup> βυλωμένα καὶ νεῶς ἐμπιπραμέ-  
 νους, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν πόλεμον περὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν  
 αὐτῶν γιγνόμενον; Καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἀπέχρησεν αὐ-  
 τοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς χιλίας, καὶ διακοσίας τριῆρεις μόνοι  
 25 διαναυμαχεῖν ἐμέλλησαν. Οὐ μὴν κιάθησαν· κατα-  
 σχυνθέντες γὰρ, Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ  
 νομίσαντες προδιαφθαρεντῶν μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐδ'

αὐτοὶ <sup>ἀποδ</sup> σωθήσονται, κατορθωσάντων δ' εἰς ἀτιμίαν τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις καταστήσειν, ἠναγκάσθησαν μετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν <sup>ἠναγκάσθησαν</sup> θορυβούς τοὺς ἐν τῷ πράγματι γενομένους καὶ τὰς <sup>ἀκούει</sup> κραυγὰς καὶ τὰς παρακελεύσεις, ἃ κοινὰ πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν ναυμαχούντων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ λεγόντα διατρίβειν· ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἴδια καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἄξια καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμο-  
<sup>τονησίων</sup> λογουμένα, ταῦτα δ' ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν.

Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διέφερεν, ὅτ' ἦν ἀκέ-  
<sup>καρμια</sup> ραῖος, ὡςτ' <sup>ἀναστατος</sup> ἀναστατος γενομένη πλείους μὲν συνεβάλετο τριῆρεις εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, οὐδεὶς δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἔχει δυσμενῶς, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε διὰ μὲν τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ <sup>κρατῆσαι</sup> ταύτης δὲ τὴν πόλιν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι. Καίτοι μελλουσης στρα-  
<sup>αποβλήσει</sup> τείας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔσεσθαι τίνας χρὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν; Οὐ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ μάλιστ' <sup>ἀποβλήσει</sup> εὐδοκίμησάντας, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἴδια προκινδυνεύσαντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς <sup>ἀποβλήσει</sup> τῶν ἀγῶνων ἀριστείων ἀξιοθέντας; Οὐ τοὺς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκλιπόντας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας, καὶ τό τε παλαιὸν οἰκιστὰς τῶν πλείστων πόλεων γενομένους, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων <sup>καταστροφῶν</sup> συμφορῶν διασώσαντας; Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάθοιμεν, εἰ τῶν κακῶν πλείστον μέρος <sup>ἀποβλήσει</sup> μετασχοῦντες ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἀξιοβῆμεν, καὶ τότε προταχθέντες ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων νῦν ἐτέροις ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκασθῆμεν;

Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν πλείστων ἀγαθῶν τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ δικαίως ἂν αὐτῆς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι· <sup>μὲν</sup> μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῶν <sup>αὐτοὶ</sup> κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης παρελάβομεν, πολλῶν κακῶν αἰτιοὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστημεν, καὶ τὸν τε Μηλιῶν ἀνδραποδισμόν καὶ τὸν Σκιωναίων ὄλεθρον ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἡμῖν <sup>υπερίμαρτον</sup> προφερόσιν.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦτο σημεῖον, ὡς κακῶς ἤρχομεν, εἴ τινες τῶν πολεμησάντων ἡμῖν σφόδρα φαίνονται κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸδε μείζον τεκμήριον, ὡς καλῶς <sup>ἡμεῖς</sup> διοικούμεν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων, ὅτι τῶν πόλεων τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῖν οὐσῶν οὐδεμία τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς <sup>ἔλαττον</sup> περιέπεσεν. Ἐπειτ' εἰ μὲν ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων <sup>ἔλαττον</sup> πραότερον ἐπεμελήθησαν, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπιτιμῶεν· εἰ δὲ μήτε τοῦτο γέγονε, μήθ' οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ τοσούτων πόλεων τὸ πλήθος κρατεῖν, ἢν μή τις <sup>ἔλαττον</sup> κολάζῃ τοὺς <sup>ἔλαττον</sup> ἑξαμαρτανοντας, πῶς οὐκ ἤδη δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἐπαιεῖν, οἷτινες <sup>ἔλαττον</sup> ἐλαχίστοις χαλεπήναντες πλείστου χρόνου τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν; <sup>ἔλαττον</sup> have been ...

Οἶμαι δὲ πᾶσι δοκεῖν τούτους κρατίστους προστατάτας γενήσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ πειθαρχήσαντες ἄριστα τυγχάνουσι πράξαντες. Ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας εὐρήσομεν καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πλείστου <sup>ἔλαττον</sup> ἐπιδόντας καὶ τὰς πόλεις μεγίστας γενομένας. Οὐ γὰρ ἐφθοροῦμεν <sup>ἔλαττον</sup> ...

Siouxians  
min.

Suppression a simple proof  
T&K suggests a certain method of positive proof

• 20 place.  
quality dist  
massively

Residual part. manner

in those times

ETLSDONAC  
with eggs & fish



the connection from the cities to the citizens

clear as a combined body  
as separate communities

Make the country as a whole

be required to make, why I should make it and  
all the things that I am able to show the facts  
to be true

looking forward to all men. (memor.)

<sup>having increased</sup> ταῖς <sup>disturbances</sup> αὐξανόμεναις αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ <sup>intruding</sup> παραχρᾶς ἐνεποιούμεν  
<sup>they might be lectured</sup> πολιτείας ἐναντίας παρακαθιστάντες, ἢ ἀλλήλοις μὲν  
<sup>they</sup> στασιαζοῖεν, ἡμᾶς δ' ἀμφότεροι <sup>they</sup> θεραπεύοιεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
<sup>unanimity</sup> τῶν συμμάχων ὁμόνοιαν <sup>alliances</sup> κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν νομίζοντες  
<sup>have promised</sup> τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις <sup>like allies</sup> διφκοῦμεν, 5  
<sup>cooperating to</sup> συμμαχικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δεσποτικῶς βουλευόμενοι περὶ  
<sup>them</sup> αὐτῶν, ὅλων μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων <sup>general</sup> ἐπιστατοῦντες, ἰδίᾳ  
<sup>each</sup> δ' ἐκάστους ἐλευθέρους ἑὼντες εἶναι, καὶ τῷ μὲν  
<sup>aid</sup> πλήθει βοηθοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ δυναστείαις <sup>war</sup> πολεμοῦντες,  
<sup>aid</sup> δεῖν ἡγοῦμενοι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀλίγοις εἶναι, 10  
<sup>inferior</sup> καὶ τοὺς ταῖς οὐσίαις <sup>weaker</sup> ἐνδεεστέρους, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μη-  
<sup>we will be exiled</sup> δὲν χείρους ὄντας ἀπελαυνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔτι δὲ  
<sup>be</sup> κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος οὔσης τοὺς μὲν τυραννεῖν, τοὺς  
<sup>be</sup> δὲ μετοικεῖν, καὶ φύσει πολίτας ὄντας νόμφ τῆς πο-  
<sup>deprived</sup> λιτείας ἀποστερεῖσθαι.

15

<sup>to have</sup> Τοιαυτ' ἔχοντες ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐπιτιμᾶν καὶ πλείω  
<sup>aid</sup> τούτων, τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν ἤνπερ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐ-  
<sup>aid</sup> τοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεστήσαμεν, ἣν οὐκ  
<sup>aid</sup> οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ διὰ μακροτέρων <sup>aid</sup> ἐπαινεῖν, ἀλλῶς τε καὶ  
<sup>aid</sup> συντόμως ἔχοντα δηλώσαι περὶ αὐτῆς. Μετὰ γὰρ 20  
<sup>aid</sup> ταύτης οἰκοῦντες ἑβδομήκοντ' ἔτη διετελέσαμεν ἀπει-  
<sup>aid</sup> ροὶ μὲν τυραννίδων, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβά-  
<sup>aid</sup> ρους, ἀστασιαστοὶ δὲ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, εἰρήνην δ'  
<sup>aid</sup> ἄγοντες πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. Ἵπὲρ ὧν προσή- 25  
<sup>aid</sup> κει τοὺς εὖ φρονούντας μεγάλην χάριν ἔχειν πολὺ  
<sup>aid</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς κληρουχίας ἡμῖν ὀνειδίξεν, ὡς ἡμεῖς

εἰς τὰς ἐρημουμένας τῶν πόλεων φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν  
χωρίων, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ <sup>πλεονεξίας</sup> πλεονεξίαν ἐξεπέμπομεν.

Σημείον δὲ τούτων· ἔχοντες γὰρ χώραν μὲν ὡς  
πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλαχίστην, ἀρχὴν δὲ  
5 <sup>μεγίστην</sup> μεγίστην, καὶ κεκτημένοι τριήρεις διπλασίας μὲν ἢ  
σύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι, δυναμένας δὲ πρὸς δις τοσαύ-  
τας κινδυνεύειν, ὑποκειμένης τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τὴν  
'Αττικὴν, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν τῆς θαλάττης  
εὐφυῶς εἶχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἀπασῶν τῶν νή-  
10 σων διέφερε, κρατοῦντες αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἡμετέ-  
ρας αὐτῶν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰδότες καὶ τῶν Ἑλλή-  
νων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτους μάλιστα εὐδοκιμούν-  
τας, οἱ τοὺς ὀμόρους ἀναστάτους ποιήσαντες ἄφθονον  
καὶ ῥάθυμον αὐτοῖς κατεστήσαντο τὸν βίον, ὅμως  
15 οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπῆρε περὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν νή-  
σον ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνοι δὴ τῶν μεγάλῃ δύναμιν  
λαβόντων περιείδομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπορωτέρως ζών-  
τας τῶν δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἐχόντων. Καίτοι βουλό-  
μενοι πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἂν δήπου τῆς μὲν Σκιωναίου  
20 γῆς ἐπεθυμήσαμεν, ἣν Πλαταιέων τοῖς ὡς ἡμᾶς κα-  
ταφυγοῦσι φαινόμεθα παραδόντες, τοσαύτην δὲ χώραν  
παρελίπομεν, ἢ πάντας ἂν ἡμᾶς εὐπορωτέρους ἐποί-  
ησεν.

Τοιοῦτων τοίνυν ἡμῶν γεγενημένων, καὶ τοσαύτην  
25 πίστιν δεδωκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπι-  
θυμῆναι, τολμῶσι κατηγορεῖν οἱ τῶν δεκαδαρχῶν κοι-  
νωνήσαντες καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διαλυμηνάμενα

made *deserit* = ravagat.

appos. c. foll. clause.

naturally

*epoite*

Supposed to refer to the same as the other.

then those who were accused of service - allies

conditional

and if we had desired we should not have done so,  
the land had passed.

So then, though we are such & though we have given  
of not doing, those who constitute the deduction  
presumed to accuse

imitate Laconians  
practising

Lacedaemones

1

Some cities ἐρι = Lysander, and a full blood Spartan

imitates

imitates  
practising

11 imitation  
imitation  
πρὸς ἑαυτὸν

imitation

24

imitation  
imitation  
rel. clause of result.

25

imitation

καὶ μικρὰς <sup>ῥημι</sup> μὲν ποιήσαντες δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀδικίας, οὐδεμίαν δὲ <sup>εἰς;</sup> λιπόντες ὑπερβολὴν τοῖς αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις γενέσθαι πονηροῖς, ἀλλὰ φάσκοντες μὲν <sup>ῥημι</sup> λακωνίζειν, τὰναντία δ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύοντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν <sup>ῥημι</sup> Μηλίων ὀδυρόμενοι συμφοράς, περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτῶν πολίτας ἀνήκεστα τολμήσαντες ἐξαμαρτεῖν. Ποῖον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα διέφυγεν; Ἡ τί τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ δεινῶν οὐ διεξήλθον; Οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἀνομωτάτους πιστοτάτους ἐνόμιζον, τοὺς δὲ προδότας ὡσπερ εὐεργέτας ἐθεράπευον, ἤρουντο δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐνίοις δουλεύειν, ὥστ' εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ὑβρίζειν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐτίμων τοὺς αὐτόχειρας καὶ φονέας τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τοὺς γονεάς τοὺς αὐτῶν, εἰς τοῦτο δ' ὀμότητος ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς κατέστησαν, ὥστε πρὸ τοῦ μὲν διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ταῖς μικραῖς ἀτυχίαις πολλοὺς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἶχε τοὺς συμπαθήσοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν ἐπαυσάμεθ' ἀλλήλους ἐλεοῦντες. Οὐδενὶ γὰρ τσοαύτην σχολὴν παρέλιπον, ὥσθ' ἐτέρῳ συναχθεσθῆναι. Τίνος γὰρ οὐκ ἐφίκοντο; Ἡ τίς οὕτω πόρρω τῶν πολιτικῶν ἢ πραγμάτων, ὅστις οὐκ ἐγγὺς ἠναγκάσθη γενέσθαι τῶν συμφαρῶν, εἰς ἃς αἰ τοιαῦται φύσεις ἡμᾶς κατέστησαν;

Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις οὕτως ἀνόμως διαθέντες καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδίκως κατηγοροῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τῶν δικῶν καὶ

τῶν γραφῶν τῶν ποτε παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων λέγει  
 τολμῶσιν, αὐτοὶ πλείους ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν ἀκρίτο  
 ἀποκτείναντες ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσ  
 ἔκριεν. Φυγὰς δὲ καὶ στάσεις καὶ νόμων συγχι  
 5 σεις καὶ πολιτειῶν μεταβολὰς, ἔτι δὲ παίδων ὕβρε  
 καὶ γυναικῶν αἰσχύναις καὶ χρημάτων ἀρπαγὰς, τ  
 ἂν δύναιτο διεξελθεῖν; Πλὴν τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἔχ  
 καθ' ἀπάντων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν δεινὰ ραδίως ἀ  
 τις ἐνὶ ψηφίσματι διέλυσε, τὰς δὲ σφαγὰς καὶ τὰ  
 10 ἀνομίας τὰς ἐπὶ τούτων γενομένας οὐδεὶς ἂν ἴασα  
 σθαι δύναιτο.

Αὐλαίου

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν παρούσαν εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ τὴ  
 αὐτονομίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις μὲν οὐκ ἐνούσαι  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀναγεγραμμένην, ἄξιον ἐλέσθαι  
 15 μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν. Τίς γὰρ ἀ  
 τοιαύτης καταστάσεως ἐπιθυμήσειεν, ἐν ἣ καταπον  
 τιστὰ μὲν τὴν θάλατταν κατέχουσι, πελταστὰ δὲ  
 τὰς πόλεις καταλαμβάνουσι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς ἐτέ  
 ρους περὶ τῆς χώρας πολεμεῖν ἐντὸς τείχους οἱ πο  
 20 λῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχονται, πλείους δὲ πόλει  
 αἰχμάλωτοι γεγόνασιν ἢ πρὶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμᾶς ποι  
 ἴσασθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν μεταβολῶν ἀθυ  
 μοτέρως διάγουσιν οἱ τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες τῶν ταῖς  
 φυγαῖς ἐξημωμένων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον δεδία  
 25 σιν, οἱ δ' αἰεὶ κατιέναι προσδοκῶσιν. Τοσοῦτον δ'  
 ἀπέχουσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας, ὥσθ'  
 αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τυράννοις εἰσὶ, τὰς δ' ἀρμοσταὶ κατέχου-

Consent and indictment  
submit trial

obj. 922.



In line of Xerox 480.

Mr So disposed of that

Peace Cinema 449.

11 Dec = 1289

to utility

this side of construction & exterior to the other side

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σιν, ἔναι δ' ἀνάστατοι γέγονασιν, τῶν δ' οἱ βάρβαροι δεσπόται καθεστήκασιν· οὐδ' ἡμεῖς διαβῆναι τολμήσαντας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μείζον ἢ προσήκεν αὐτοῖς φρονήσαντας οὕτω διέθεμεν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον παύσασθαι στρατείας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ 5 καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν ἀνέχεσθαι πορθουμένην, καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ χιλίαις ναυσὶ περιπλέοντας εἰς τοσαύτην ταπεινότητα κατεστήσαμεν, ὥστε μακρὸν πλοῖον ἐπὶ τὰδε Φασήλιδος μὴ καθέλκειν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ παρούσῃ 10 δυνάμει πιστεύειν.

Καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι διὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρετὴν οὕτως εἶχεν, αἰ τῆς πόλεως συμφοραὶ σαφῶς ἐπέδειξαν· ἅμα γὰρ ἡμεῖς τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεστερούμεθα καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀρχὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐγί- 15 γνητο. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γενομένην ἀτυχίαν ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνων καταστάτων ἐνίκησαν μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι ναυμαχοῦντες, ἤρξαν δὲ τῆς θαλάττης, κατέσχον δὲ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων, ἀπέβησαν δ' εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, Κύθηρα δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἶλον, 20 ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον κακῶς ποιοῦντες περιέπλευσαν.

Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις συνίδοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μεταβολῆς, εἰ παραναγνοίῃ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς τ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενομένας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἀναγεγραμμένας. Τότε 25 μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς φανησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν βασιλέως ὀρίζοντες καὶ τῶν φόρων ἐνίους τάττοντες καὶ

κωλύοντες αὐτὸν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆσθαι· νῦν δ' ἐκεῖ-  
 νός ἐστιν ὁ διοικῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ προστάτ-  
 των ἃ χρῆ ποιεῖν ἐκάστους, καὶ μόνου οὐκ ἐπιστά-  
 θμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστάς. Πλὴν γὰρ τούτου  
 5 τί τῶν ἄλλων ὑπόλοιπόν ἐστιν; Οὐ καὶ τοῦ πο-  
 λέμου κύριος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπρυτάνευσε,  
 καὶ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων ἐπιστάτης καθέστηκεν;  
 Οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνον πλέομεν ὥσπερ πρὸς δεσπότην,  
 ἀλλήλων κατηγορήσοντας; Οὐ βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν  
 10 αὐτὸν προσαγορεύομεν, ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες;  
 Οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἐκεί-  
 νῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν τῆς σωτηρίας, ὃς ἀμφοτέρους  
 ἡμᾶς ἠδέως ἂν ἀπολέσειεν;

\* Ὡν ἄξιον ἐνθυμηθέντας ἀγανακτῆσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 15 παροῦσι, ποθέσαι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν,  
 μέμψασθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἰς  
 τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν ὡς ἐλευθερώσοντας τοὺς Ἑλ-  
 ληνας, ἐπὶ δὲ τελευτῆς οὕτω πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκδό-  
 τούς ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας πόλεως τοὺς  
 20 Ἰωνας ἀπέστησαν, ἐξ ἧς ἀπώκησαν καὶ δι' ἣν πολ-  
 λάκις ἐσώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτοὺς ἐξέδωσαν,  
 ὧν ἀκόντων τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲ  
 πώποτ' ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες.

Καὶ τότε μὲν ἡγανάκτου, ὅθι ἡμεῖς νομίμως  
 25 ἐπάρχειν τινῶν ἠξιούμεν· νῦν δ' εἰς τοιαύτην δου-  
 λείαν καθεστῶτων οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν αὐτῶν, οἷς οὐκ  
 ἐξαρκεῖ δασμολογεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ὄραν ὑπὸ

Christians

(help in time)

Group Name

Address

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How to follow

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66

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to be

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τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατεχομένας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῖς κοιναῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι δεινότερα πάσχουσι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀργυρωνήτων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν οὕτως αἰκίζεται τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὡς ἐκείνοι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους κολάζουσιν. Μέγιστον δὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὅταν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς δουλείας ἀναγκάζονται συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ πολεμῆν τοῖς ἐλευθεροῦν ἀξιούσι, καὶ τοιούτους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν, ἐν οἷς ἠττηθέντες μὲν παραχρῆμα διαφθαρήσονται, κατορθώσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον δουλεύουσιν. 10

Ὡν τίνας ἄλλους αἰτίους χρῆ νομίζειν ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες περιορῶσι τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν συμμάχους γενομένους οὕτω δεινὰ πάσχοντας, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥώμῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ κατασκευαζόμενον; Καὶ πρό- 15  
τερον μὲν τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλον, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τὰς βοηθείας ἐποιοῦντο, νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον μεταβεβλήκασι, ὥστε ταῖς μὲν πολιτείαις πολεμουσί, τὰς δὲ μοναρχίας συγκαθιστᾶσι. Τὴν μὲν γε Μαντινέων πόλιν εἰρήνης ἤδη γεγενημένης ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν, 20  
καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων Καδμείαν κατέλαβον, καὶ νῦν Ὀλυνθίους καὶ Φλιασίους πολιορκοῦσιν, Ἀμύντα δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ καὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας κρατοῦντι συμ- 25  
πράττουσιν, ὅπως ὡς μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἔξουσιν. Καί-  
τοι πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἓνα μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτων ἀνθρώπων καθιστάναι δε-

σπότην, ὦν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξευρεῖν ῥᾶδιόν ἐστι, τὰς δὲ μεγίστας τῶν πόλεων μὴδ' αὐτὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι κυρίας, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζειν δουλεύειν ἢ ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιβάλλειν. Ὁ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅταν τις ἴδῃ τοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ἀξιούοντας ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν στρατευομένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον συμμαχίαν πεποιημένους.

Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με δυσκόλως ἔχειν, ὅτι τραχύτερον τούτων ἐμνήσθην, προειπὼν ὡς περὶ διαλλαγῶν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους· οὐ γὰρ ἵνα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλω τὴν πόλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, οὕτως εἴρηκα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους παύσω, καθ' ὅσον ὁ λόγος δύναται, τοιαύτην ἔχοντας τὴν γνώμην. Ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἀποτρέπειν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, οὐδ' ἐτέρων πράξεων πείθειν ἐπιθυμῆν, ἢν μὴ τις ἐρρωμένως ἐπιτιμήσῃ τοῖς παρούσιν· χρὴ δὲ κατηγορεῖν μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοιαῦτα λέγοντας, νουθετεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ λαιδοροῦντας. Τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγον οὐχ ὁμοίως ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας λεγόμενον. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχομεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμῶν, ὅτι τῇ μὲν αὐτῶν πόλει τοὺς ὁμόρους εἰλωτεύειν ἀναγκάζουσι, τῷ δὲ κοινῷ τῷ τῶν συμμαχῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον κατασκευάζουσιν, ἔξον αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλυσάμενοις ἅπαντας τοὺς βαρβάρους περιοίκους ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταστήσαι.

Καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς φύσει καὶ μὴ διὰ τύχην μέγα φρονούντας τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νησιώτας δασμολογεῖν, οὓς ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐλεεῖν, 68 ὀρώντας τούτους μὲν διὰ σπανιότητα τῆς γῆς ὄρη γεωργεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους, τοὺς δ' ἠπειρώτας δι' ἀφθονίαν τῆς χώρας τὴν μὲν πλείστην αὐτῆς ἀργὸν περιωρώντας, ἐξ ἧς δὲ καρπούνται τοσοῦτον πλούτου κεκτημένους.

Ἐγούμαι δ', εἴ τις ἀλλοθὲν ποθεν ἐπελθόντες θεαταὶ γένοιτο τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων, πολλὴν 10 ἂν αὐτοὺς καταγνώσκειν μανίαν ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν, οἷτινες οὕτω περὶ μικρῶν κινδυνεύομεν, ἐξόν ἀδεῶς πολλὰ κεκτηθῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν χώραν διαφθειρομένους, ἀμελήσαντες τὴν Ἀσίαν καρποῦσθαι. Καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐδὲν προὔργιαίτερον ἐστὶν ἢ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὧν μη- 15 δέποτε παυσόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολεμοῦντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτου δέομεν συγκρούειν τι τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἢ ποιεῖν στασιάζειν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς διὰ τύχην αὐτῷ γεγενημένας ταραχὰς συνδιαλύειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν, οἷτινες καὶ τοῖν στρατοπέδοις τοῖν περὶ Κύπρον ἐώ- 20 μεν αὐτὸν τῷ μὲν χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ πολιορκεῖν, ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄντοιν. Οἳ τε γὰρ ἀφροσύνη πρὸς ἡμᾶς τε οἰκείως ἔχουσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόασιν, τῶν τε μετὰ Τιριβάζου στρατευομένων καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ χρησι- 25 μώτατον ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τόπων ἤθροισται, καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλείστον ἀπ' Ἰωνίας συμπέπλευκεν, οἷ



πολὺ ἂν ἦδιον κοινῇ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπορθοῦν ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕνεκα μικρῶν ἐκινδύνεον. <sup>ἐπιβουλή.</sup> <sup>ἰσχυροί.</sup>

Ὡν ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἀμφισβητοῦμεν, τοσαύτας δὲ τὸ πλήθος πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας τὸ μέγεθος δυνάμεις οὕτως <sup>ἀσκήσει</sup> εἰκῆ τῷ βαρβάρῳ παραδεδώκαμεν. Τοιγαροῦν τὰ μὲν ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μέλλει, <sup>ὑς.</sup> τοῖς δ' ἐπιβουλεύει, δικαίως ἀπάντων ἡμῶν καταπεφρονηκώς. Διαπέπρακται γὰρ ὁ τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων οὐδεὶς <sup>ἀσκήσει</sup> πώποτε· τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀσίαν διωμολόγηται καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως εἶναι, τὰς τε πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας οὕτω κυρίως <sup>ἀσκήσει</sup> παρείληφεν, ὥστε τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν κατασκάπτει, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίζει. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γέγονε διὰ τὴν <sup>ἀσκήσει</sup> ἡμετέραν ἀνοιαν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν.

69  
καὶ Καίτοι τινὲς <sup>ἀσκήσει</sup> θαυμάζουσι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι δυσπολέμητον, διεξιόντες· ὡς πολλὰς τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῖς Ἑλλησι πεποίηται! Ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι μὲν τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας οὐκ ἀποτρέπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισπεύδειν τὴν στρατείαν· εἰ γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁμονοησάντων αὐτὸς ἐν ταραχαῖς ὧν χαλεπὸς ἔσται προσπολεμεῖν, ἢ που σφόδρα χρή δεδιέναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνου, ὅταν τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων καταστῆ καὶ διὰ μῆς γένηται γνώμης, ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς <sup>ἐπιβουλή.</sup> <sup>ἰσχυροί.</sup> ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ νῦν πολεμικῶς ἔχωμεν.

Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ συναγορεύουσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, οὐδ' ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως <sup>ἰσχυροί.</sup> <sup>ἐπιβουλή.</sup>

γιγνώσκουσιν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέφαινον αὐτὸν ἅμα  
 τοῖν πολλοῖν ἀμφοτέροισιν πρότερόν ποτε περιγεγενη-  
 μένον, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς καὶ νῦν ἐκφοβεῖν ἐπεχείρουν·  
 εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ γέγονεν, ἀντιπάλων δ' ὄντων  
 ἡμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων προσθεμένος τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐπιβου-  
 λήματα τὰ πράγματα θάτερόν ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲν  
 ἐστὶ τοῦτο σημεῖον τῆς ἐκείνου βλάβης. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς  
 τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς πολλαίς μικραὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας  
 τὰς ῥοπὰς ἐποίησαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ Χίων ἔχοιμ' ἂν  
 τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὀποτέροις ἐκείνοι προσ- 10  
 θέσθαι βουλευθῆεν, οὗτοι κατὰ θάλατταν κρείττους  
 ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τούτων δίκαιόν ἐστι σκο-  
 πεῖν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἐξ ὧν μεθ' ἑκατέρων  
 γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολέμηκεν.  
 Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποστάσης Αἰγύπτου τί διαπέπρα- 15  
 κται πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν; Οὐκ ἐκείνος μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον κατέπεμψε τοὺς εὐδοκιμοτάτους  
 Περσῶν, Ἀβροκόμαν καὶ Τιθραύστην καὶ Φαρνάβα-  
 ζον, οὗτοι δὲ τρί' ἔτη μείναντες, καὶ πλείω κακὰ  
 παθόντες ἢ ποιήσαντες, τελευτῶντες οὕτως αἰσχροῦς 20  
 ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας μηκέτι τὴν ἐλευ-  
 θερίαν ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων ζητεῖν  
 ἐπάρχειν;

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπ' Εὐαγόραν στρατεύσας, ὃς ἄρ-  
 χει μὲν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἑκδοτός 25  
 ἐστίν, οἰκῶν δὲ νῆσον κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν προδεδυσ-

τύχηκεν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς χώρας τρισχιλίουσιν ἔχει μόνον

(Cepheran) 11ae = } 396 - 387-77 11ae  
 } 385 - 376 11ae

<sup>ταυται</sup> πελταστας, <sup>ταυται</sup> ἀλλ' ἄμως οὕτω ταπεινῆς δυνάμεως οὐ  
 δύναται περιγενέσθαι βασιλεὺς πολεμῶν, ἀλλ' ἤδη  
 μὲν ἐξ ἑτῆ διατέτριφεν, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰ μέλλοιτα τοῖς  
 γεγενημένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι, πολὺ πλείων ἐλπίς ἐστίν  
 5 ἕτερον ἀποστήναι, πρὶν ἐκείνον ἐκπολιορκηθῆναι· τοι-  
 αῦται βραδυτήτες ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς βασιλέως  
 ἐνεσιων.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ Ῥόδον ἔχων μὲν τοὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχους εὐνοῦς διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα  
 10 τῶν πολιτειῶν, χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ταῖς  
 παρ' ἡμῶν, στρατηγούντος δ' αὐτῷ Κόνωνος, ὃς ἦν  
 ἐπιμελέστατος μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν, πιστότατος δὲ  
 τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ἐμπειρότατος δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλε-  
 μον κινδύνων, τοιοῦτον λαβὼν συναγωνιστὴν τρία μὲν  
 15 ἔτη περιεΐδε τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ προκινδυνεύον ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας ὑπὸ τριήρων ἑκατὸν μόνων πολιορκούμενον,  
 πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ μηνῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὸν μισθὸν  
 ἀπεστέρησεν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ <sup>ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τῷ ἑταίρῳ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ</sup> πολλάκις ἂν  
 διελύθησαν, διὰ δὲ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κίνδυνον καὶ τὴν  
 20 συμμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κόρινθον συστάσαν μόλις ποτὲ  
 ναυμαχοῦντες ἐνίκησαν.

Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ βασιλικώτατα καὶ σεμνότατα  
 τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων, καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδέποτε παύ-  
 ονται λέγοντες οἱ βουλόμενοι τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων με-  
 25 γάλα ποιεῖν. Ὡστ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐ  
 δικαίως χρώμαι τοῖς παραδείγμασι, οὐδ' ὡς ἐπὶ μι-  
 κροῖς διατρίβω, τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πράξεων παραλεί-

πων· φεύγων γὰρ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων διήλθον, οὐκ ἀμνημονῶν οὐδ' ἐκείνων, ὅτι Δερκυλίδας μὲν χιλίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας τῆς Αἰολίδος ἐπήρχει, Δράκων δὲ Ἄταρνεά καταλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους πελταστὰς συλλέξας τὸ Μύσιον πεδῖον ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε, Θίβρων δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους τούτων διαβιβάσας τὴν Λυδίαν ἅπασαν ἐπόρθησεν, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ Κύρου στρατεύματι χρώμενος μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλως χώρας ἐκράτησεν.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν μετὰ βασιλείως περιπολοῦσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν Περσῶν ἀνδρίαν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι φανερώς ἐπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Κύρῳ συναναβάντων οὐδὲν βελτίους ὄντες τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας μάχας ὅσας ἠτήθησαν ἑῶ, καὶ τίθημι στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι προθύμως πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν βασιλέως διακινδυνεύειν. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ Κύρου τελευτήσαντος συνήλθον ἅπαντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντες, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς ἐπολέμησαν, ὥστε μηδένα λόγον ὑπολιπεῖν τοῖς εἰθισμένοις τὴν Περσῶν ἀνδρίαν ἐπαιεῖν. Λαβόντες γὰρ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένους, ἀλλ' οἱ διὰ φαυλότητα ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν ζῆν, ἀπείρους μὲν τῆς χώρας ὄντας, ἐρήμους δὲ συμμαχῶν γεγενημένους, προδεδομένους δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συναναβάντων, ἀπεστερημένους δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεθ' οὗ συνηκολούθησαν, τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν ἤττους ἦσαν, ὥσθ' ὁ βα-

σιλεύς ἀπορήσας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι καὶ κατα-  
 φρονήσας τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως τοὺς ἄρχοντας  
 τοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων ὑποσπόνδους συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμη-  
 σεν, ὡς εἰ τοῦτο παρανομήσειε συνταράξων τὸ στρα-  
 5 τόπεδον, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴλετο περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔξαμαρτεῖν  
 ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διαγωνίσασθαι. Δι-  
 αμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
 συμμεινάντων καὶ καλῶς ἐνεγκόντων τὴν συμφορὰν,  
 ἀπιούσιν αὐτοῖς Τισσαφέρην καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας συνέ-  
 10 πεμφεν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκείνοι παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλεύμενοι  
 τὴν ὁδὸν ὁμοίως διεπορεύθησαν ὡσπερανεὶ προπεμπό-  
 μενοι, μάλιστα μὲν φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀοίκητον τῆς χώ-  
 ρας, μέγιστον δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν νομίζοντες, εἰ τῶν πο-  
 λεμίων ὡς πλείστοις ἐντύχοιεν.

15 Κεφάλαιον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων· ἐκείνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 λείαν ἐλθόντες οὐδὲ κώμην καταλαβόντες, ἀλλ' ἐπ'  
 αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα στρατεύσαντες ἀσφαλέστερον κα-  
 τέβησαν τῶν περὶ φιλίας ὡς αὐτὸν πρεσβευόντων.  
 Ὡστε μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς τόποις σαφῶς ἐπι-  
 20 δεδεῖχθαι τὴν αὐτῶν μαλακίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πα-  
 ραλίᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας πολλὰς μάχας ἤττηνται, καὶ δια-  
 βάντες εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην δίκην ἔδοσαν (οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 αὐτῶν κακῶς ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ' αἰσχρῶς ἐσώθησαν),  
 καὶ τελευτώντες ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλεῖσι καταγελα-  
 25 στοι γεγόνασιν.

Καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀλόγως φηγομεν, ἀλλὰ πάντ' εἰ-  
 κώτως ἀποβέβηκεν· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε τοὺς οὕτω τρε-

φομένους καὶ πολιτευομένους οὔτε τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς  
 μετέχειν οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τρόπαιον ἰστάναι τῶν  
 πολεμίων. Πῶς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύμασι <sup>μισθίου</sup>  
 ἐγγενέσθαι δύναιτ' ἂν ἡ στρατηγὸς δευὸς ἢ στρατιώ-  
 τῆς ἀγαθός, ὧν τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐστὶν ὄχλος ἀτα- 6  
 κτος καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρος, πρὸς μὲν τὸν πόλεμον  
 ἐκκελυμένος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δουλείαν ἄμεινον τῶν παρ'  
 ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν πεπαιδευμένους, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις  
 δόξαις ὄντες αὐτῶν ὁμαλῶς μὲν οὐδὲ κοινῶς οὐδὲ πο-  
 λιτικῶς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐβίωσαν, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον 10  
 διάγουσιν εἰς μὲν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντες, τοῖς δὲ δουλεύον-  
 τες, <sup>μὴ γινέσθαι</sup> ὡς ἂν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα τὰς φύσεις διαφθαρεῖ-  
 εν, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα διὰ τοὺς πλοῦτους τρυφῶντες,  
 τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς διὰ τὰς μοναρχίας ταπεινὰς καὶ περι-  
 δεεῖς ἔχοντες, <sup>καταλιπὼν καὶ</sup> ἐξεταζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις 15  
 καὶ προκαλινοῦμενοι καὶ πάντα τρόπον μικρὸν φρο-  
 νεῖν μελετῶντες, θνητὸν μὲν ἄνδρα προσκυνῶντες καὶ  
 φεῖ δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων ὀλιγορῶντες.

Τουγαροῦν οἱ καταβαίνοντες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, 20  
 οὓς καλοῦσι σατράπας, οὐ καταισχύνουσι τὴν ἐκεῖ  
 παιδευσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς διαμένουσι,  
 πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀπίστως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
 ἀνάνδρως ἔχοντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν ταπεινῶς, τὰ δ' ὑπερη-  
 φάνως ζῶντες, τῶν μὲν συμμάχων καταφρονῶντες, 25  
 τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους θεραπεύοντες. Τὴν μὲν γε μετ'  
 Ἀγησιλάου στρατιὰν ὀκτὼ μῆνας ταῖς αὐτῶν δαπάναις

διέθρεψαν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύοντας ἑτέρου  
 τοσοῦτου χρόνου τὸν μισθὸν ἀπεστέρησαν· καὶ τοῖς  
 μὲν Κισθίην καταλαβοῦσιν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα διένειμαν,  
 τοὺς δὲ μεθ' αὐτῶν εἰς Κύπρον στρατευσαμένους μάλ-  
 5 λον ἢ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὕβριζον. Ὡς δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν  
 καὶ μὴ καθ' ἕνα καστον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τίς ἢ  
 τῶν πολεμησάντων αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐδαιμονήσας ἀπήλθεν,  
 ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις γενομένων οὐκ αἰκισθεὶς τὸν βίον  
 ἐτελεύτησεν; Οὐ Κόνωνα μὲν, ὃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 10 στρατηγήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέλυ-  
 σεν, ἐπὶ θανάτῳ συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησεν, Θεμιστοκλέα  
 δ', ὃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὺς κατεναυμάχησε, τῶν  
 μεγίστων δωρεῶν ἠξίωσαν; Καίτοι πῶς χρὴ τὴν  
 τούτων φιλίαν <sup>ἐρασίαν</sup> αγαπᾶν, οἳ τοὺς μὲν εὐεργέτας τιμω-  
 15 ροῦνται, τοὺς δὲ κακῶς ποιοῦντας οὕτως ἐπιφανῶς  
 κολακεύουσιν; Περὶ τίνας δ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξημαρτή-  
 κασιν; Ποῖον δὲ χρόνον διαλελοίπασιν ἐπιβουλεύον-  
 τες τοῖς Ἕλλησιν; Τί δ' οὐκ ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστι  
 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, οἳ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδη καὶ τοὺς νε-  
 20 ὦς συλᾶν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ καὶ κατακάειν  
 ἐτόλμησαν;

Διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τῶν ἐμ-  
 25 πρησθέντων ἱερῶν ἐπηράσαντο εἰ τινες κινήσειαν ἢ  
 πάλιν εἰς τὰρχαῖα καταστήσαι βουληθείεν, οὐκ ἀπο-  
 ροῦντες πόθεν ἐπισκευάσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἔν' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς  
 ἐπιγυνομένοις ἢ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας, καὶ  
 μηδεὶς πιστεύῃ τοῖς τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξαμαρ-

τείν τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττωνται καὶ δεδῶσιν, ὀρώντες αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι πολεμήσαντας. = *ἔμμελε*

\* Ἐχω δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοιαῦτα διελθεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοις <sup>μεσση μεσση</sup> πεπολεμηκασιν ἅμα <sup>ἔχουσιν</sup> διάλλαττονται καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς γεγενημένης ἐπιλανθάνονται, τοῖς δ' ἡπειρώταις οὐδ' ὅταν εὖ πάσχωσι χάριν ἴσασιν· οὕτως ἀείμνηστον <sup>ἔχουσιν</sup> τὴν ὀργὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν. Καὶ πολλῶν μὲν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν μηδισμοῦ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, 10 ἐν δὲ τοῖς συλλόγοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀρὰς ποιοῦνται, πρὶν ἄλλο τι χρηματίζειν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύεται Πέρσαις τῶν πολιτῶν· Εὐμολπίδαι δὲ καὶ κήρυκες ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν μυστηρίων <sup>διὰ τὸ τούτων μίσος καὶ</sup> τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις <sup>ἔργεσθαι</sup> εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ 15 τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις, <sup>ἔχουσιν</sup> προαγορεύουσιν. Οὕτω δὲ φύσει πολεμικῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν μύθων <sup>ἡδιστα συνδιατρίβομεν</sup> ἡδιστα συνδιατρίβομεν τοῖς Τρωικοῖς καὶ Περσικοῖς, δι' ὧν ἔστι πυνθάνεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων συμφοράς. Εὐροι δ' ἂν τις ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς 20 βαρβάρους ἕμνους πεποιημένους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας θρήνους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἀδομένους, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμᾶς μεμνημένους. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου <sup>ποίησιν</sup> ποίησιν μείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολε- 25 μήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκωμίασε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουλευθῆναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἔντιμον αὐτοῦ ποι-



ἦσαι τὴν τέχνην ἔν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄθλοις καὶ  
 τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων, ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκούοντες  
 τῶν ἐπῶν ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαι  
 πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ζηλοῦντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν στρατευ-  
 5 σαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνοις ἐπι-  
 θυμῶμεν. *Ματ.*

Ἔστω μοι δοκεῖ πολλὰ λίαν εἶναι τὰ παρακελευ-  
 1 ὄμενα πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δ' ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς,  
 ὃν οὐκ ἀφετέον· καὶ γὰρ αἰσχυρὸν παρόντι μὲν μὴ  
 10 χρῆσθαι, παρελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ μεμνησθαι. Τί γὰρ  
 ἂν καὶ βουλευθῆμεν ἡμῖν πρόσγενέσθαι, μέλλοντες  
 βασιλεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἔξω τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχόντων; Οὐκ  
 Ἀἰγυπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ Κύπρος ἀφέστηκε, Φοινίκη  
 15 δὲ καὶ Συρία διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι,  
 Τύρος δ', ἐφ' ἣ μὲγ' ἐφρόνησεν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 τῶν ἐκείνου κατεῖληπται; Τῶν δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πόλε-  
 ων τὰς μὲν πλείστας οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὄντες ἔχουσι,  
 τὰς δ' οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ κτήσασθαι. Λυκίας δ' οὐδ'  
 εἰς πρότερον Περσῶν ἐκράτησεν. Ἐκατόμυθος δ' ὁ  
 20 Καρίας ἐπίσταθμος τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ πολὺν ἤδη χρό-  
 νον ἀφέστηκεν, ὁμολογήσει δ' ὅταν ἡμεῖς βουλευθῶ-  
 μεν. Ἀπὸ δὲ Κυίδου μέχρι Σιώνης Ἕλληνας τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν παροικουσί, οὓς οὐ δεῖ πείθειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κω-  
 1 λυεῖν πολεμεῖν. Καίτοι τοιούτων ὀρμητηρίων ὑπαρ-  
 25 ξάντων, καὶ τοσούτου πολέμου τὴν Ἀσίαν περιστάν-  
 τος, τί δεῖ τὰ συμβησόμενα λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν;  
 1 Ὅπου γὰρ μικρῶν μερῶν ἦττους εἰσὶν, οὐκ ἄδηλον

ὡς ἂν διατεθεῖεν, εἰ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πολεμεῖν ἀναγκα-  
 σθεῖεν. Ἐχει δ' οὕτως. Ἐὰν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐρ-  
 ρώμενεστέρωσ κατάσχη τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ,  
 φρουρὰς μείζους ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ νῦν ἐγκαταστήσας, τάχ' 76  
 ἂν καὶ τῶν νήσων αἱ περὶ τὴν ἠπειρον, οἷον Ῥόδου 5  
 καὶ Σάμου καὶ Χίου, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου τύχας ἀποκλί-  
 ναιεν· ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς αὐτὰς πρότεροι καταλάβωμεν, εἰ-  
 κὸς τοὺς τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν  
 ὑπερκειμένην χώραν οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ὀρ-  
 μωμένοις εἶναι. 10

Διὸ δεῖ σπεύδειν καὶ μηδεμίαν ποιείσθαι διατρι-  
 βήν, ἵνα μὴ πάθωμεν ὅπερ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. Ἐκεῖ-  
 νοι γὰρ ὑστέρισαντες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ προέμενοι-  
 τινας τῶν συμμάχων ἠναγκάσθησαν ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολ-  
 λούς κινδυνεύειν, ἐξ<sup>ω</sup> αὐτοῖς προτέροις διαβάσιν εἰς 15  
 τὴν ἠπειρον μετὰ πάσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυνάμε-  
 ωσ ἐν μέρει τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕκαστον χειροῦσθαι. Δέδει-  
 κται γάρ, ὅταν τις πολεμῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πολ-  
 λῶν τόπων συλληγομένους, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ περιμένειν ἕως  
 ἂν ἐπιστῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι διεσπαρμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιχει- 20  
 ρεῖν. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν προεξαμαρτόντες ἅπαντα ταῦτ'  
 ἐπηρωρθώσαντο, καταστάντες εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶ-  
 νας. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν σωφρονώμεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς φυλαξό-  
 μεθα, καὶ πειρασόμεθα φθῆναι περὶ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ  
 τὴν Ἰωνίαν στρατόπεδον ἐγκαταστήσαντες, εἰδότες, 25  
 ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἐκόντων ἄρχει τῶν ἠπειρωτῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ μείζω δύναμιν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκάστων αὐτῶν

1 ποιησάμενος· ἥς ἡμεῖς ὅταν κρείττω διαβιβάσωμεν,  
 ὁ βουλευθέντες ῥαδίως ἂν ποιήσαιμεν, ἄσφαλῶς ἄπα-  
 σαν τὴν Ἀσίαν καρπωσόμεθα. Πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον  
 ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας πολεμεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 5 αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν ἡλικίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν  
 στρατείαν, ἣν οἱ τῶν συμφορῶν κοινωνήσαντες, οὗτοι  
 καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσωσι καὶ μὴ πάντα τὸν χρό-  
 νον δυστυχοῦντες διαγάγῃσιν. Ἰκανὸς γὰρ ὁ παρε-  
 10 ληλυθῶς, ἐν ᾧ τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐ γέγονεν; Πολλῶν  
 γὰρ κακῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπαρχόντων  
 αὐτοὶ πλείω τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσεξευρήκαμεν, πολέ-  
 μους καὶ στάσεις ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιήσαντες, ὥστε  
 τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀνόμῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοὺς  
 15 δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλᾶσθαι,  
 πολλοὺς δὲ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπικουρεῖν  
 ἀναγκαζομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῖς φίλοις μαχο-  
 μένους ἀποθνήσκειν. Ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἠγα-  
 νάκτησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν  
 20 ποιητῶν συγκειμέναις δακρύειν ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀληθινὰ δὲ  
 πάθη πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ γιγνόμενα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον  
 ἐφορῶντες τοσοῦτου δέουσιν ἐλεεῖν, ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον  
 χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων κακοῖς ἢ τοῖς αὐτῶν  
 ἰδίῳις ἀγαθοῖς.

25 Ἴσως δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐθειας πολλοὶ κατα-  
 γελάσειαν, εἰ δυστυχίας ἀνδρῶν ὀδυροίμην ἐν τοῖς  
 τοιούτοις καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς Ἰταλία μὲν ἀνάστατος γέ-

γονε, Σικελία δὲ καταδεδούλωται, τοσαῦται δὲ πόλεις τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκδέδονται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις ἐστίν.

Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ προσήκειν αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦνται μέγα φρονεῖν, μηδὲν <sup>5</sup> πώποθ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων μίτ' εἰπεῖν μίτ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι δυνηθέντες. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἄξιοι τῆς παρουσίας δόξης, ἀπάντων ἀφε- <sup>αὐτοῦ</sup> μένους τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς βαρ- <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> βάρους εἰσηγεῖσθαι καὶ συμβουλεύειν. Τυχόν μὲν <sup>10</sup> γὰρ ἂν τι <sup>ἀεὶ ἐπιβάντων</sup> συνεπέριον· εἰ δὲ καὶ <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> προαπέειπον, ἀλλ' <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> οὐκ οὖν τοὺς γε λόγους ὥσπερ <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> χρησμούς εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> χρόνον ἂν κατέλιπον. Νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσ- <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> ταις δόξαις ὄντες ἐπὶ μικροῖς σπουδάξουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξεστηκόσι περὶ τηλικούτων <sup>15</sup> πραγμάτων συμβουλεύειν παραλελοίπασιν.

<sup>16</sup> Οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ὅσῳ μικροψυχότεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄν- <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> τες οἱ προεστῶτες ἡμῶν, τοσούτῳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρ- <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> ρωμενεστέως δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγησόμεθα τῆς <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> παρουσίας ἔχθρας. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ μάτην ποιούμεθα <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> συνθήκας· οὐ γὰρ διαλυόμεθα <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> τοὺς πολέμους, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλλόμεθα, καὶ περιμένομεν <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἀνήκεστόν τι κακὸν ἀλλήλους <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> ἐργάσασθαι δυνησόμεθα. Δεῖ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιβου- <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> λὰς ἐκποδῶν ποιησαμένους ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπι- <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> χειρεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τὰς τε πόλεις ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσο- <sup>ἀλλοῦ</sup> μεν καὶ πιστότερον διακεισόμεθα πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς.

Ἔστι δ' ἀπλοῦς καὶ ῥάδιος ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τούτων· οὔτε γὰρ εἰρήνην οἶόν τε βεβαίαν ἀγαγεῖν, ἢν μὴ κοινῇ τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμήσωμεν, οὔθ' ὁμονοήσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν ἂν καὶ τὰς ὀφελίας ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ποιησώμεθα. Τούτων δὲ γενομένων, καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀφαιρεθείσης, ἢ καὶ τὰς ἐταιρίας διαλύει καὶ τὰς συγγενείας εἰς ἔχθραν προάγει καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καθίστησιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐχ ὁμονοήσομεν καὶ τὰς εὐνοίας ἀληθινὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔξομεν. Ὡν ἕνεκα περὶ παντὸς ποιητέον, ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα τὸν ἐνθένδε πόλεμον εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον διορισθῆναι, ὡς μόνον ἂν τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν ἀπολαύσαιμεν τῶν κινδύνων τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, εἰ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων γεγενημέναις πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καταχρήσασθαι δόξειεν ἡμῖν.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως διὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἄξιον ἐπισχεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπειχθῆναι καὶ θάπτον ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν; Δι' ἃς αἱ μὲν ἠλευθερωμένοι τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖ χάριν ἴσασιν, ὡς δι' ἐκείνον τυχούσαι τῆς ἀυτονομίας ταύτης, αἱ δ' ἐκδεδομένοι τοῖς βαρβάροις μάλιστα μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπικαλοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετασχοῦσι τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων δουλεύειν ἠναγκασμένοι. Καίτοι πῶς οὐ χρὴ διαλύειν ταύτας τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἐξ ὧν τοιαύτη δόξα γέγονεν, ὥστε ὁ μὲν βάρβαρος κήδεται τῆς

Ἑλλάδος καὶ φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐστίν, ἡμῶν δὲ τινές εἰσιν οἱ λυμαινόμενοι καὶ κακῶς ποιῶντες αὐτήν; Ὁ δὲ πάντων καταγελαστότατον, ὅτι τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις τὰ χεῖριστα τυγχάνομεν διαφυλάττοντες. Ἄ μὲν γὰρ αὐτονόμους ἀφήσει τὰς τε 5 — νήσους καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης πάλαι λέλυται καὶ μάτην ἐν ταῖς στήλαις ἐστίν· ἃ δ' — αἰσχύνῃ ἡμῖν φέρει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἐκδέδωκε, ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ χώραν μένει καὶ πάντες αὐτὰ κύρια ποιούμεν, ἃ χρὴν ἀναρεῖν καὶ μηδεμίαν 10 ἑᾶν ἡμέραν, νομίζοντας προστάγματα καὶ μὴ συνθήκας εἶναι.

Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι συνθήκαι μὲν εἰσιν αἰτινες ἂν ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔχῃσι, προστάγματα δὲ τὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐλαττοῦντα παρὰ τὸ δί- 15 / 18 καιον; Διὸ καὶ τῶν πρεσβευσάντων ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην δικαίως ἂν κατηγοροῖμεν, ὅτι πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐποίησαντο τὰς συνθήκας. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, εἴτ' ἐδόκει τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐκάστους, εἴτε καὶ τῶν δοριαλώτων ἐπάρχειν, 20 εἴτε τούτων κρατεῖν ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες, ἐν τι τούτων ὀρισσαμένους καὶ κοινὸν τὸ δί- 1 καιον ποιησαμένους, οὕτω συγγράφεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. Νῦν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει καὶ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμαν, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον ἀπάσης 25 τῆς Ἀσίας δεσπότην κατέστησαν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμησάντων ἡμῶν, ἢ τῆς μὲν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς πάλαι

καθεστηκυίας, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄρτι τὰς πόλεις κατοικούντων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μὲν νεωστὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ἔχόντων, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δυναστευόντων.

5 Οἶμαι δ' ἐκείνως εἰπὼν μᾶλλον δηλώσειν τὴν τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γεγενημένην καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονεξίαν. Τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κειμένης δίχα τετμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης καλουμένης, τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἐκ τῶν  
10 συνθηκῶν εἴληφεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεμόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τὰς συνθήκας ποιούμενος. Καὶ ταύτας ἡμᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις ἀναγράψαντας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναθεῖναι, πολὺ κάλλιον τρόπαιον τῶν ἐν ταῖς μά-  
15 χαις γιγνομένων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἔργων καὶ μᾶς τύχης ἔστιν, αὐταὶ δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ πολέμου καὶ καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐστήκασιν.

Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἄξιον ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως τῶν τε γεγενημένων δίκην ληψόμεθα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα  
20 διορθωσόμεθα. Καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκέταις ἀξιούν χρησθαι, δημοσία δὲ τοσούτους τῶν συμμάχων περιορᾶν αὐτοῖς δουλεύοντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ γενόμενους μᾶς γυναικὸς ἀρπασθείσης οὕτως ἅπαντας συνοργισθῆναι τοῖς ἀδι-  
25 κηθείσιν, ὥστε μὴ πρότερον παύσασθαι πολεμοῦντας, πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἔξαμαρτεῖν, ἡμᾶς δ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑβριζομένης

μηδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι κοινήν τιμωρίαν, ἔξον ἡμῶν εὐ-  
 χῆς ἄξια διαπράξασθαι. Μόνος γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πόλε-  
 μος εἰρήνης κρείττων ἐστί, θεωρία μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ  
 στρατεία προσεικώς, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ συμφέρων, καὶ  
 τοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν βουλομένοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμεῖν 5  
 ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. Εἴη γὰρ ἂν τοῖς μὲν ἀδεῶς τὰ σφέ-  
 τερ' αὐτῶν καρποῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων  
 μεγάλους πλούτους κατακτήσασθαι.

Πολλαχού δ' ἂν τις λογιζόμενος εὖροι ταύτας τὰς  
 πράξεις μάλιστα λυσιτελούσας ἡμῖν. Φέρε γάρ, πρὸς 10  
 τίνας χρῆ πολεμεῖν τοὺς μηδεμιᾶς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυ-  
 μούντας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον σκοποῦντας; Οὐ  
 πρὸς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιή-  
 σαντας καὶ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύοντας καὶ πάντα τὸν χρό-  
 νον οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακειμένους; Τίσι δὲ φθονεῖν 15  
 εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνάνδρως διακειμέ-  
 νους, ἀλλὰ μετρίως τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι χρωμένους; ἢ  
 Οὐ τοῖς μείζους μὲν τὰς δυναστείας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώ-  
 πους περιβεβλημένους, ἐλάττονος δ' ἀξίους τῶν παρ'  
 ἡμῖν δυστυχοῦντων; Ἐπὶ τίνας δὲ στρατεύειν προσ- 20  
 ἕκει τοὺς ἅμα μὲν εὐσεβεῖν βουλομένους, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ  
 συμφέροντος ἐνθυμουμένους; Οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς καὶ φύ-  
 σει πολεμίους καὶ πατρικούς ἐχθρούς καὶ πλείστα  
 μὲν ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένους, ἥκιστα δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμύ-  
 νεσθαι δυναμένους; Οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνοι πᾶσι τούτοις 25  
 ἐνοχοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις λυπήσομεν στρατιώ- 1



τας ἐξ αὐτῶν καταλέγοντες, ὃ νῦν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ  
 τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀχληρότατον ἔστιν αὐταῖς· πολὺ  
 γὰρ οἶμαι σπανιωτέρους ἔσσεσθαι τοὺς μένειν ἐβελή-  
 στοντας τῶν συνακολουθεῖν ἐπιθυμησόντων. Τίς γὰρ  
 5 οὕτως ἢ νέος ἢ παλαιὸς ῥάθυμὸς ἔστω, ὅστις οὐ  
 μετασχεῖν βουλήσεται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ὑπ'  
 Ἀθηναίων μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων στρατηγουμένης,  
 ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων ἐλευθερίας ἀθροισμένης,  
 ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ἐκπεμπομένης, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 10 τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων τιμωρίαν πορευομένης; Φήμην  
 δὲ καὶ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν πόσῃν τινὰ χρὴ νομίζειν  
 ἢ ζῶντας ἔξειν ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείψειν τοὺς ἐν  
 τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἀριστεύσαντας; Ὅπου γὰρ οἱ  
 πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμήσαντες καὶ μίαν πόλιν ἐλόν-  
 15 τες τοιούτων ἐπαίνων ἠξιώθησαν, ποίων τιῶν χρὴ  
 προσδοκᾶν ἐγκωμίων τεύξεσθαι τοὺς ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας  
 κρατήσαντας; Τίς γὰρ ἢ τῶν <sup>πρὸς</sup> ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἢ  
 τῶν <sup>πρὸς</sup> λέγειν ἐπισταμένων οὐ ποιήσῃ καὶ φιλοσόφη-  
 σει, βουλόμενος ἅμα τε τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας καὶ τῆς  
 20 ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς μνημεῖον εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον κα-  
 ταλιπεῖν;

Οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τυγχάνω γνώμην ἔχων ἐν τε τῷ  
 παρόντι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου. Τότε μὲν  
 γὰρ ᾧμην ἀξίως δυνησέσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπεῖν·  
 25 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐφικνούμαι τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ  
 πολλά με διαπέφευγεν ὧν διανοήθην. Αὐτοὺς οὖν  
 χρὴ συνδιορᾶν ὅσης ἂν εὐδαιμονίας τύχοιμεν, εἰ τὸν

μὲν πόλεμον τὸν νῦν ὄντα περὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἠπειρώτας ποιησαίμεθα, τὴν δ' εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην διακομίσαιμεν, καὶ μὴ  
 μόνον ἀκροατὰς γενομένους ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν  
 πράττειν δυναμένους παρακαλοῦντας ἀλλήλους πειρᾶ- 8  
 σθαι <sup>κεντρικῶς</sup> διαλλάττειν τὴν τε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ  
 τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τοὺς δὲ τῶν λόγων ἀμφισβητοῦν-  
 τας πρὸς μὲν τὴν παρακαταθήκην καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων ὧν νῦν φλυαροῦσι παύεσθαι γράφοντας, πρὸς δὲ  
 τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμίλλαν, καὶ σκο- 10  
 πεῖν, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων  
 ἐροῦσιν, ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι τοῖς μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμέ-  
 νοις οὐ πρέπει περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν, οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα  
 λέγειν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος μηδὲν ἐπιδώσει τῶν πεισθέν- 15  
 των, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐπιτελεσθέντων αὐτοὶ τε ἀπαλλαγῆσου-  
 νται τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγάλων  
 ἀγαθῶν αἰτιοὶ δόξουσιν εἶναι.



He jaeel- Ισοκράτους Πανηγυρικός

Reminiscat- in base!



## NOTES.

6



## NOTES.

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A PANEGYRICAL DISCOURSE originally meant one composed to be read or delivered at a great festival, called a *πανήγυρις*; hence its name, *πανηγυρικός*, or *πανηγυρικός λόγος*. These discourses were generally laudatory in their style, and finally any composition in praise of an individual or a state was called a *panegyric*.

Page 3, l. 1. *πανηγύρεις*. Festival assemblies, of which there was a great variety in Greece. Some were established for a single state, or for two or three states that bordered upon each other. Some were more comprehensive. Four of them, the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian, rose to great national importance. Their origin was traced back into the mythical antiquity, and their foundation was laid by heroes and demigods. They became periodic celebrations in historical times, and lasted long after the independence of Greece was lost, and the country had sunk into the rank of a province of the Roman empire. The Olympian and Pythian were held every four years, the Nemean and Isthmian every two; each of the former two was called, according to the Greek mode of reckoning, a *πενταετηρίς*, and each of the latter a *τριετηρίς*. They furnished a means of recording events chronologically. The Olympiads, in particular, were used for this purpose, beginning with 776 B. C., the date of the first recorded Olympic victory.

During the periods of these national celebrations, a truce was proclaimed between hostile states. In this respect, their influence must have been highly favorable to the progress of civilization. The contests were, for the most part, gymnastic and equestrian. In some of them, musical rivalries formed part of the entertainment. Authors frequently seized the opportunity which such large assemblies afforded of reading their works; and this was one mode of publishing them to the world. Deputies from the different nations of Greece and from the colonies, and even from princes of Greek descent, like Hiero of Syracuse and Arcesilaus of Cyrene, attended in magnificent state. The enthusiasm excited by these games was profound and universal; the ambition for victory, one of the strongest passions of the Hellenic mind. The winner of the wreath of pine or the parsley crown was the most fortunate and envied of mortals. Honors and applause could not be lavished upon him enough. His triumph was celebrated by processions, sacrifices, feasts, and, above all, by the united and richest strains of the poet and musician. Of the immense variety of Pindar's odes, none have been preserved entire except those in honor of the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian victors. Solon, by public enactment, offered large rewards to those Athenians who gained prizes at the Olympian and Pythian games; such was that great man's sense of their national importance. In a later age, the benefits of this eagerness for the agonistic victory were questioned by philosophical minds. Isocrates intimates, in the Introduction, a comparison, in respect to usefulness, between those who devoted themselves to this species of public service and those who trained their minds to intellectual labors, showing that in his time the renown of an athlete had begun to be considered a rude kind of glory, compared with that of the statesman, the thinker, and the teacher.

1, 2. *συναγαγόντων*. In the old editions, the reading was *ἀγόντων*. But Isocrates is not speaking of those who took part in the games, but of the founders. Literally, *those who brought the festal assemblies together*; i. e. those who instituted them. The word is appropriate to *πανηγύρεις*, as *καταστησάντων*, in the next line, is to *γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας*. Genitive constructed with *ἐθαύμασα*. For the phrase *πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα*, see G. § 30, 1, n. 1.

4. *ἰδίᾳ*, in *private*, i. e. by private study and meditation; as the philosophers and moralists did, and particularly those who, like Isocrates, occupied themselves with subjects that concerned the public welfare.

6. *τούτοις δ'*. For *δέ* in Apodosis, see G. § 57, and last Rem. under § 64.

7. *εἰκὸς ἦν ποιήσασθαι*, § 49, 2, n. 3.

9. *οὐδὲν . . . ἄλλοις*, *no advantage would accrue to others*.

9, 10. [*λαβόντων* and *φρονήσαντος* are in protasis, equivalent to the aor. opt.] G. § 109, 6; § 52, 1. — *ἀπολαύσειαν ἂν*, *would enjoy the benefit*.

14. *ἦκω συμβουλεύσων*, *I am come to give advice*; future participle expressing intention or purpose. G. § 109, 5.

15. *τε . . . καί*. "When *τε* is placed after the preposition, the preposition is usually repeated after *καί*; but if the *τε* is joined, not to the preposition itself, but to the article or noun, then the preposition is usually omitted after *καί*." Bremi. One object of the discourse was to persuade the Greeks to lay aside their discords with one another, and to unite in a common war against the Barbarians, i. e. the Persians. Philip of Macedon adopted the plan previously to his assassination, and his son Alexander executed it.

17. *σοφιστῶν*, *Sophists*. *Σοφιστὰς δ' ἐκάλουν*, says Coray, *παρὰ τὸ Σοφίζειν, τοὺς διδάσκοντας τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμην*. Gorgias, Thrasymachus, Protagoras, Hippias, were Sophists,



or teachers of this description. Bremi says: “*Σοφισταί* primum dicti sunt omnes σοφοί, qui sive scientia rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium, sive alia arte excellere. Tum vero per σοφιστάς intelligebantur ῥήτορες φιλοσοφούντες.” “Imprimis ita nominati sunt, qui artem disserendi tradiderunt, eamque duplicem, vel de capite aliquo doctrinae in scholis (Cic. Fin. II. 1) vel de republica; quod discrimen apertum est ex oratione contra Soph. (p. 429). Οὐ μόνον τοῖσι, qui doctrinam omnem amplectuntur, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι τοῖσι πολιτικοῖσι λόγους ὑπισχνουμένοις.” Spohn. Isocrates applied this species of eloquence to the discussion of morals and government, and to the illustration of the duties of the citizen as a member of a political community. In this sense, Isocrates himself, as Cicero intimates, was a Sophist. (Orat. c. xi.) “Qualem Isocrates fecit Panegyricum, multique alii, qui sunt nominati Sophistae.” The art of eloquence was sometimes called σοφιστεία.

17, 18. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἔρρησαν, have rushed to this subject. G. § 70, 1. “Ὁρμῶν ἐπὶ τι, magno impetu ferri alicujus rei potiundae tamquam egregiae et opportunae.” Bremi. — διοίσειν, G. § 27, n. 3.

Page 4, l. 1. δοκεῖν, G. § 98. — εἰρησθαι, G. § 73, 1; § 18, 3.

2. προκρίνας. The preposition πρό, in composition, suggests comparison and preference. “Τούτους τῶν λόγων κρίνας εἶναι καλλίστους πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων.” Coray.

3. τυγχάνουσι ὄντες. Τυγχάνειν is often constructed with participles of other verbs, when the idea of chance is to be expressed, however slightly. See Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 310, 1; G. § 112, 2.

8. ὅταν λάβῃ, G. § 62.

9, 10. ἔχοντα πέρασ, having completion; i. e. all having been said and written that can be said and written about the subject, so that no other writer can do more or better in the treatment of it. — λελείφθαι, G. § 18, 3, note.

11. τὰ μὲν refers to πράγματα; the antithesis is τὰ δ' εἰρημένα, in the next line.

12. φέρεται, G. § 62.

13. φιλοσοφεῖν, *to study, or meditate carefully.*

14. ἦν κατορθωθῆ, G. § 50, 1.

17, 18. μηδαμῶς ἄλλως . . . ἀλλ' ἤ, *no otherwise than.*

See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 159, n. 1. For the conditional sentence, see G. § 49, 2.

19. ὡς . . . ἐστι, G. § 32, 3 (a).

20. λέγοντα, *by speaking.* The participle agrees with the understood subject of ἐνοχλεῖν. See Kühner, § 312, Rem. 3.

23, 24. For an explanation of the connective particles, καὶ . . . τε, καὶ . . . καί, see Kühner, § 321, Rem. 1.

26. φευκτέον, G. § 114, 2.

Page 5, l. 2, 3. καταχρήσασθαι, employed here in a good sense, and more emphatically than the simple verb, *to make use of.* G. § 91.

3, 4. ἐνθυμηθῆναι, *to form opinions, to conceive.* τοῖς δνόμασιν εὖ διαθέσθαι, *to dispose of well in words.* The two expressions point at the two indispensable qualities of good writing, namely, just and suitable sentiments, and a happy selection of words or aptness of style.

6. λαμβάνειν ἄν, G. § 73, 1; § 41, 1.

7. φιλοσοφίαν. Cicero (De Orat., III. 16) says: "Omnis rerum optimarum cognitio, atque in iis exercitatio, philosophia." Φιλοσοφία περὶ τοὺς λόγους is *the art or study of eloquence*; or rather, perhaps, as Bremi explains, *the theoretical treatment of the art of eloquence.*

10, 11. περὶ ὧν . . . εἶρηκεν, G. § 61, 1.

12. δύναιτο ἄν, G. § 52, 2.

13, 14. τῶν λόγων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἔχουσι καὶ λίαν ἀσηκριβωμένους, *those discourses which are above the common style, and which have been highly finished.* That is, ornate discourses, and not arguments on mere legal questions, or

business affairs, before the courts; = τοῖς μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς ἔχουσιν. Coray.

15-17. ὥστε . . . σκοποῦσιν, so that they examine those which have been excessively elaborated, by comparison with speeches made in suits concerning private business. G. § 65, 3. That is, they judge of finished discourses on subjects of great public concern according to the standard of arguments made in the courts,—mere business and conversational discussions growing out of every-day affairs.—δέον, accusative absolute (= εἰ ἔδει). G. § 110, 2; § 109, 6.

18-21. τοὺς μὲν ἀσφαλῶς (sc. ἔχειν), i. e. business arguments, which should be clearly and strongly put, in such a way as to be *unshaken*, though destitute of ornament.—τοὺς δ' ἐπίδεικτικῶς, and the former, i. e. discourses of public occasions, called demonstrative, or *epideictic*, written according to the principles of art, and exhibiting the eloquence of the author.—ἡ σφᾶς μὲν. For construction of these accusatives, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 226, a; G. § 110, 2, n. 1.—μετριότηρας, the proprieties of discourse.—διορῶντας (= εἰ διώρων), G. § 109, 6; § 52, 1.—ἂν δυνάμενον (= δύναϊτο ἂν), G. § 41, 1; § 52, 2.

24. ἐκείνους. The use of the demonstrative before or after the participle with the article is common in Greek, but it is not pleonastic, as is sometimes stated; the demonstrative and the article here have the force of antecedent and relative.

25. δυσχερανοῦντας, who will judge with severity.

Page 6, l. 1. θρασυνάμενος, having made bold, having taken the liberty to say a few words more about myself.

2. Τοὺς μὲν. The antithesis to this is Ἐγὼ δ' (l. 7).

3. καταπραΰνοντας, endeavoring to conciliate. G. § 113.

4. ῥηθῆσθαι, G. § 25, 2, n. 1.

5. τοὺς μὲν. The correlative is τοὺς δ', some . . . others, the two expressions being partitive, and both in apposition with τοὺς ἄλλους.—ἐξ ἰπογυίου, off-hand, extempore.

9, 10. τοῦ . . . διατριφέντος, *the time spent by us in the composition of this discourse*. Isocrates was employed ten years, or, according to some, fifteen, in the work. See Plutarch's Life. The meaning of this statement is merely, that he kept it by him for that length of time before publishing it, working upon it as he had leisure, and not that he gave himself exclusively to the composition. He was, besides, laboriously occupied with teaching and study.

12, 13. οὐδὲν . . . ὅ τι . . . οὐκ. See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 230, 2.

14. ποιῶμαι, G. § 49, 1.

16. [προειρήσθω, *let this have been said (once for all)*. G. § 18, 2.]

17. εὐθὺς ἐπελθόντες. G. § 109, n. 2.

24, 25. συστήσαι ταῦτα, *to put these things in train*; that is, to bring about the proposed union of the Greeks, for the war against Persia. — ὅθεν ἂν δυνηθεῖεν. See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 217, 2; G. § 50, 2.

25, 26. τῶν . . . εἰσίν. The two leading states of Greece were Athens and Sparta; the former at the head of the democratical commonwealths, the latter the protector of the oligarchies.

Page 7, l. 1. ὅστις οἴεται (= εἴ τις οἴεται), G. § 61, 1. — τοὺς ἄλλους, *the others*, i. e. besides the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

2. τοὺς προεστῶτας, *those who stand at their head*, i. e. the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

2, 3. [πρὶν ἂν διαλλάξῃ, G. § 67, n. 2. The subjunctive with πρὶν, when no negative precedes, is very rare.]

6. τῶ πόλῃ τούτῳ, *these two states*. Another reading is τὰς πόλεις ταύτας.

8. ἡγεμονίας. The ἡγεμονία was the right of taking the precedence assumed by one among several confederated states. The Athenians had enjoyed the supremacy by sea, and the Lacedaemonians by land.

10. *ταύτας*, an emphatic use of the demonstrative, referring back to *τὰς πλεονεξίας*.

12, 13. *δυσπείστως ἔχουσι* = *δύσπειστοί εἰσι*, by a very common Greek idiom. — *παρειλήφασι*, *have received by tradition*.

14–17. [*ἦν ἐπιδείξη . . . τάχ' ἂν ἔλθοιεν*, instead of saying, *if any one shall show them, they will come, &c.*, he says, *if any one shall show them, they would perhaps (under certain circumstances) come.*] G. § 54, 1 (a).

17, 18. *Ἐχρήν . . ἀρχεσθαί*. *The others therefore* (i. e. who have handled this topic) *ought to have started from this point*. G. § 49, 2, n. 3, and Remarks. — *πρὶν ἐδίδαξαν*, G. § 66, 3; and examples under § 67, 1.

22, 23. *προὔργου τι*, i. e. *πρὸ ἔργου* = *συμφέρον*. Coray says, *ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν πρὸ ἔργου τινὸς ὀφειλομένων τελείσθαι, ὡν ἄνευ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ*. Therefore *προὔργου τι* is properly *something before the work*, something that must be done as a previous condition, which being done, the thing in question is advanced to its completion; consequently, something that promotes the object in view, something useful.

Page 8, l. 1. *ἀμφισβητεῖ*, *disputes*, in the sense of *lays claim to something that is claimed by another; constructed with the genitive of the object claimed*.

2. *Τοῦτο μὲν* has for its correlative *Τοῦτο δ'* (l. 9).

2, 3. *ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ . . . τῶν ἔργων*, *in each particular case, or matter; ἔργων*, partitive genitive.

5. *ἀπολαβεῖν*, *to recover*; that is, to receive back what one has had before, and has lost.

10. *μή*, hypothetical negative. G. § 47, 3.

13. *ἄλλο τι γέρας*, *any other privilege*.

17. *ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν σκοπῇ*, G. § 61, 3; § 42, 1. — *ἀμφοτέρων*, *both*, i. e. precedence in point of time, and pre-eminence in services rendered to the Greeks.

18. *ἀπολείψομεν τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας*, *we shall leave behind us those who dispute our claim*.

20. *πᾶσι* πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, among all mankind, in the whole world.

21. οὕτω . . . οὐσης. The word *ὑπόθεσις* is variously explained. 1. *The foundation of the city.* 2. *The subject of discourse.* 3. *The basis or foundation* on which the discourse is built. *With so noble a foundation* (i. e. as the acknowledgment of the antiquity, the greatness, and the fame of Athens), *we have still stronger claims to honor for what is established upon this*; the sense briefly being, This is an honorable beginning for us; but our claims to precedence, founded on historical facts subsequent or additional to this, are still more decisive.

25. *μαγάδες συλλεγόντες*, collected promiscuously.

26. *ἐξ ἥσπερ ἔφυμεν*, G. § 59.

27. *ὅσπερ διατελούμεν*, G. § 65, 3. — *αὐτόχθονες*, children of the soil. This was the peculiar boast of the Athenians. The portion of the Ionic race that settled originally in Attica was less disturbed by changes, revolutions, and migrations than the populations of the other parts of Greece. They could trace their history back into the legendary and mythical times in a more unbroken line than the other Hellenes.

Page 9, l. 2. *ἔχοντες*. Bremi remarks: "Notandum idem vocabulum tam brevi spatio recurrens; cujusmodi negligentiae in Isocrate rarae sunt, nec tamen omnino nullae."

5. *τοὺς εὐλόγως μέγα φρονούντας*, those who pride themselves with good reason.

6, 7. *πατρῶν πολλάκις μεμνημένους*, often boasting of their hereditary honors; a sarcastic allusion to the Lacedaemonians, and their self-glorification upon their supposed descent from the Heraclidae. The implication conveyed in the whole sentence is, that the Lacedaemonians can rest their claims on no such grounds.

14-17. *εὐρήσομεν . . . οὐσαν*. In this sentence, the

first genitive, τῶν κινδύνων, is dependent on αἰτίαν only by *zeugma*, being properly governed by some word to be mentally supplied. The meaning is, *For we shall find her not only distinguished in endurance of the perils of war, but also the originator of the rest of the civil order, &c.* “Κατασκευή raro de institutionibus quae fundamentum habent in rerum civilium ordine.” Bremi. ἐν ἧ κατοικοῦμεν καὶ μεθ’ ἧς πολιτευόμεθα καὶ δι’ ἧν ζῆν δυνάμεθα. “Tria hic respiciuntur: primum, quod silvas agrosque relinquentes domicilia constituimus; alterum, quod ex vita agresti ad civilem cultum pervenimus; tertium, quod ingenii mentisque vires excoluimus.” Bremi. — For οὐσαν, see G. § 113.

19–22. διαλαθούσας . . . μνημονομένας. “Si ad propriam vocabulorum vim respicimus, primum λεγομένης respondet posteriori κατασιωπηθείσας, et alterum μνημονομένας priori διαλαθούσας. Haec est interdum oppositionis ratio etiam apud scriptores antiquissimos, eaque subtilis et elegans.” Bremi.

25. εἰ γέγονεν, G. § 49, 1.

26, 27. ἀφικομένης, ἀρπασθείσης, G. § 110, 1; § 109, 1.

Page 10, l. 2, 3. τοῖς μεμνημένοις, *the initiated*, i. e. in the Eleusinian mysteries, celebrated in honor of Demeter and Persephone. On account of their pre-eminent importance they are frequently spoken of as *the mysteries*. Their origin is to be traced back, as Isocrates intimates, to the mythical times, — being attributed by some to Eumolpus, and by others to Erechtheus. The tradition adopted by Isocrates is that which assigns their foundation to Demeter herself, who, while wandering in search of her daughter, Persephone, came to Attica, and, being kindly received, rewarded the people by giving them the fruits of the earth, and the sacred rites, which were regarded as the holiest institutions of the Hellenic religion.

Whatever was the origin of these mysteries, they were

celebrated in the historical times with extraordinary devotion. Initiation was eagerly sought by educated persons all over Greece; for, before the time of Herodotus, all except the Barbarians were admitted to the privilege. There were two celebrations annually; — the Lesser Mysteries, held at Agræ, on the Ilissus, in the month Anthesterion, and designed as a preparation for the Greater; the latter celebrated during a period of nine days, from the fifteenth to the twenty-third of the third Attic month, Boedromion, corresponding to the last half of September and the first of October. Each day had its peculiar ceremonies. The city of Athens was crowded with visitors from every part of the Grecian world. There was the procession to the sea-coast for purification; fasting and sacrifice; the sacred procession with the basket of pomegranates and poppy-seeds, borne on a wagon drawn by oxen, and followed by women with mystic cases in their hands; the torch procession to the temple of Demeter in Eleusis, led by the *δαδούχος*; the carrying of the statue of Iacchus, the son of Demeter, along the sacred road from the Cerameicus to Eleusis, with an immense number of followers and spectators, amidst songs and shouts of joy. In the night, between the sixth and seventh day, the candidates were initiated into the last mysteries, repeated the oath of secrecy, were purified anew, were conducted into the lighted sanctuary (*φωταγωγία*), where they beheld what none else were ever permitted to see. On the seventh day, the initiated returned to Athens, indulging in raillery and saturnalian jests, especially as they crossed the bridge of the Cephissus. Other but less important rites filled up the remaining days. Games and contests also gave variety to the scene.

But little is known of the secret doctrines taught there. Whatever they might have been, the ancients regarded them with reverence and awe. Thirlwall says: "They



were the remains of a worship which preceded the rise of the Hellenic mythology and its attendant rites, grounded on a view of nature less fanciful, more earnest, and better fitted to awaken both philosophical thought and religious feeling." This view is apparently sustained by the glimpses of religious doctrine given us by Isocrates, in the words, *ἡς οἱ μετασχόντες περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν*. In illustration of which, see Cicero de Legg. 11. 14: "Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videantur Athenae tuae peperisse, atque in vita hominum attulisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus; initiaque ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitae cognovimus, neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi." The fact, that the immortality of the soul was taught to the initiated, is clearly pointed out by many ancient writers. Among the number, Plato, Phaedo, p. 69, C.: "ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος ἐκείσε ἀφικόμενος μετὰ θεῶν οἰήσει."

4, 5. τοῦ μὴ ζῆν, G. § 95, 1; § 92, 1, N. 2 (end).

11. τὰ μὲν, i. e. *the mysteries*.

12. τῶν δέ, *the productions of the earth*, in acknowledgment of which the first fruits were sent every year to Athens.

14. *ἰδίδαξεν*, subject, ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν.

15. *προστεθέντων*, G. § 109, 6; § 52, 1.

18. *ὡς ἀρχαίων ὄντων*, *on the ground that they are antiquated*. G. § 109, N. 4; § 110, 1, N. 1.

20, 21. διὰ τὸ . . . ἀκηκοέναι, G. § 18, 3.

23, 24. τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν φήμην. "Ὁ λόγος narratio, quatenus hominum sermone et testimonio nritur; ἡ φήμη quatenus propria narrationis origo parum cognita est, sed illa divino quasi numine propagata est." Bremi. — *παρειλήφαμεν*, *we have received by tradition*.

25. *σημείους μείζουσιν*, *weightier arguments*.

Page 11, l. 2. ταῖς δ' ἐκλειπούσαις. "Quod Morus conjicit, ἐκλειπούσαις, primo ad aspectu et propter aoristum προσέταξεν et quod de re facta sermo est, aptior videtur. Sed subtilis est et vera Coraëi animadversio, propter πολλάκις praesens positum esse, quum res saepius facta notetur. Nempe aoristus participii et modi obliqui una de re nec adjecto adverbio, quod repetitionis notionem habet, ponitur." Bremi. The principle involved here is, that the aorist of the participle and the oblique modes is used to denote a single act, but the present to denote habitual or repeated action.

[The distinction of *time* between the present and aorist participles, which is quite as marked as in the indicative, is overlooked by Bremi in his note. The present participle refers to a continued or repeated action, *present* with reference to the time of the leading verb, while the aorist refers to a single or momentary action, *past* with reference to that time. On this principle ἐκλειπούσαις is perfectly correct here: the meaning is, *the Pythia often commanded those states which from time to time failed in their duty*. The aorist would have meant, *those who* (on some one former occasion) *had failed*.]

3. τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν, *the portions of the fruits*; i. e. the established or customary portion. According to Coray, the orator alludes to the sacrifice of the προηροσία, at the beginning of the ploughing season, which the Athenians offered for all the Greeks. A famine having spread all over the land, the oracle at Delphi was consulted as to the means of averting it. The response directed that the Athenians should sacrifice the προηροσία in behalf of the Greeks. When this was done, the calamity ceased; and by way of showing their gratitude, the cities sent to the Athenians yearly the firstlings of all their fruits.

7. συνδοκεῖ, *acquiesce*. — καὶ . . . τε. The first conjunction connects the remainder of the sentence with what pre-

cedes; *τε* is correlative with *καί* in the following clause, the two connecting the subordinate clauses.

11. τὸν βίον, *the life of man; the condition of human life.*

13, 14. συνεπόρισαντο, *furnished themselves by united efforts.*

15, 16. ἢ ζητούντας αὐτοὺς ἐντυχεῖν, *or to have found it themselves by searching.* G. § 109, 2; § 23, 2. With λαβεῖν supply τὸν βίον; with ἐντυχεῖν, αὐτῶ, referring to the same, i. e. the conveniences and refinements of life. For the construction of two verbs governing different cases, one case only being expressed, see Matt., Gr. Gr., § 428, 2.

16, 17. ὁμολογουμένους . . . γενόμενους. With ὁμολογεῖσθαι, and some other words, the participle is constructed instead of the infinitive; here, = γενέσθαι, *those who are admitted by all to have been.* G. § 113; § 73, 2. [On the same principle, ὄντας and διακεμένους = εἶναι and διακεῖσθαι.] — καὶ . . . τε, see above (line 7).

17, 18. εὐφνεστάτους, *best endowed by nature; having the finest natural genius.*

18. τὰ τῶν θεῶν. “Omnem deorum cultum amplissimo sensu complecti potest, quicquid homines praestare diis operantur. Possit etiam esse simplex periphrasis pro οἱ θεοί. Praefero prius.” Bremi. The devotion of the Athenians to the worship of the gods was one of their well-known characteristics. St. Paul’s happy allusion to it in his discourse on the Areopagus will occur to every one.

22, 23. τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, *the things that have been done, the facts.* “Ipsis beneficiis, quae sunt in facto posita.” Morus.

26. Περὶ δέ. For the complete illustration of this part of the eulogy on Athens, see the Funeral Oration of Pericles, Thucyd. II. 35, seqq.

27. τῆς χῶρας. “Intelligitur regionis ambitus, quam complectebatur Isocratis tempore Ἑλλάς, Graecia.” Bremi.

“Ejus terrae, quam nos incolimus, quae ab Attica et Boeotia (nam hae duae partes vetustissimis temporibus Graecia supra Isthmum fuisse videntur, id quod de Athenis constat, de Thebis intelligitur, c. 15) usque ad Macedoniam pertinuit, et postea Ἑλλάδος nomen habuit. . . . Etiam barbaros intelligimus eos qui tum finitimi Atticae et Boeotiae fuerunt, communique nomine Thraces et Scythae dicti videntur, quorum nomina vaga significatio; utrique tamen imperium Europae habuerunt. . . . Hos Thraces coegerunt Athenienses recedere versus Septentrionem, et Graeciae fines promoverunt; nam inter Thraces et Atticam Boeotiamque orta est Thessalia, Epirus, Macedonia.” Mor.

Page 12, l. 1-6. For *κατέχοντας* and the other participles after *ὄρωσα*, see G. § 113; § 73, 2. Notice the change of tense. — *σφίσιω αὐτοῖς, one another, = ἀλλήλοις*. See Soph., Gr. Gr., § 161, N. 3. For a description of the state of things here alluded to, see Thucyd., beginning of Lib. I.

10. *ἐφ' ἐκατέρας τῆς ἡπείρου*. “In utraque terrae parte, Europa scilicet et Asia. Antiquos enim terram in duas tantum partes divisisse constat, eam quam norant Africae partem modo Europae modo Asiae tribuentes. Cf. Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, 1 Theiles 2te Abth., p. 280, seqq.” Breimi.

15. *περιεβάλλοντο τὸν τόπον, occupied the region*.

16-18. *Ὡστε . . . ἐποίησαν*. [Ὡστε, constructed with the infinitive, expresses simply the result, real or aimed at; with the indicative, as here, it states the result more prominently as an actual fact. Still it is often indifferent which of the two is used.] See G. § 65, 3. — *ἀποικίσαι, to colonize*.

19, 20. *οὐ . . . διακινδυνεύειν, for it was not necessary for them continually to incur hazard in acquiring territory*. G. § 49, 2, N. 2, Rem. 3. — *τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀφορισθεῖσαν, quae finibus nostra opera constitutis, a barbarorum regnis divisa et Graeca facta est*.” Morus. — *ταύτην, demonstrative pronoun, emphatic repetition*.

23. πρὶν οἰκισθῆναι, G. § 106.

24–26. τῆς . . . προαγαούσης, *than that which caused the barbarians to be expelled from their seats, and advanced the Greeks to so great prosperity.*

Page 13, l. 2. εὐρεῖν. In apposition with ἀρχὴν ταύτην, in the preceding line.

3, 4. ἥπερ χρή (i. e. εὐρεῖν) . . . διοικήσειν, *which it is necessary that those who would make suitable provision in other matters should find, or secure.*

4, 5. τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις μόνον, *life with these alone*; i. e. the bare necessities of life. — τοῦ ἐπιθυμῶν, G. § 95, 1. — ἔχειν represents ἔχει of the direct discourse; G. § 15, 2.

7. ὅσα μὴ ἔχομεν, G. § 61, 1. [Μὴ is used because the antecedent of ὅσα is indefinite. G. § 58, 3.]

10. Παραλαβούσα γάρ, *For having received, or rather, in this place, having found.*

12. ὑπὸ . . . ὑβριζομένους, *oppressed by despotisms.*

14, 15. τῶν . . . ποιήσασα, *by becoming mistress of the one, and by making herself an example to the others.*

15, 16. νόμους ἔθετο. The individual who proposes a law is said νόμον θεῖναι; the political authority which enacts it, νόμον θέσθαι. — πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο, *established a constitutional government.*

18, 19. βουλευθέντες . . . ἀλλήλους, *wishing to settle their differences with one another by reason, and not by violence.* “Notanda haec oppositio λόγου καὶ βίας, quam Latini faciunt per orationem et vim.” Br. — ἐν τοῖς νόμοις. “Praepositio hic notionem verbi habet, v. c. ἐμμένοντες χρόμενοι, et adjunctam notionem sedulitatis et assiduitatis.” Br.

20. κρίσις is the general term for *trial*, in a legal sense; κρίνειν, *to bring to trial.*

21–23. τὰς τε . . . μεμηχανημένας, *those that are useful for the necessities of life, and those which have been invented for pleasure*; i. e. the useful and the ornamental arts.

25. διοίκησιν. Here, *the constitution of civil society.*

Elsewhere, *administration* ; sometimes, *treasury department*.

25, 26. πρὸς ἅπαντας οἰκίως, *liberally towards all*.  
 "Quasi in proprium usum, ut quisque inveniret quae in suam rem cederent." Br.

27. ἀπολαῦσαι . . . ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, *desirous to enjoy their property*.

Page 14, l. 4. ἡδίστας διατριβάς, *most agreeable pastimes*, or resources to make their residence pleasant.

5. αὐτάρκη, *self-sufficing* ; i. e. producing all that is needed. The honor claimed for Athens here is, that, by establishing a great commercial centre, she enabled the different parts of Greece to interchange their commodities, and thus to supply their own and each other's deficiencies in a manner equally advantageous to both. This mart or emporium was the Peiraeus, which, though not geographically in the midst of Greece, as Isocrates rhetorically describes it, was yet conveniently situated and easy of access for commercial purposes. Strabo has given a minute description of this port. Leake (*Topography of Athens*, p. 300) says: "The security of the Athenian harbors, whose different capacities were so well suited to the several stages of the naval power of Athens, conspired, with the peninsular form of the province, with its position relatively to the surrounding coasts of Greece and Asia, with the richness of the Attic silver-mines, and even with the general poverty of the Attic soil, to produce a combination of circumstances the best adapted to encourage the development of commercial industry, and of nautical skill and enterprise." See also Cramer's *Ancient Greece*, Vol. II. pp. 348, 353. Thucydides (II. 38), speaking of Athens, says: ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα.

18, 14. πορίσασθαι, *to furnish one's self with, to procure*.

15. πανηγύρεις, *festal assemblies*, like the Olympian, Pyth-

ian, Nemean, and Isthmian. See note, pp. 63, 64. The following sentences briefly describe the advantages of these festivals, which brought together in friendly relations so many persons belonging to the different Greek races, arresting for the time, at least, existing hostilities, uniting men in common sacrifices, giving opportunities to renew old friendships and to form new ones, and affording useful and entertaining occupation both for those who came simply as spectators and for those who had trained themselves for the games.

16. *οἱ παρέδοσαν*. G. § 81, 1.

24, 25. *τοῖς ιδιώταις*, the private persons; i. e. those who were not candidates for any of the public honors in the games. — *τοῖς διενεγκούσι τὴν φύσιν*, those who excel in natural endowments. — *ἀργόν*, literally idle; here, useless, or without advantage.

27. *τὰς αὐτῶν εὐτυχίας*, their own talents. Wieland. "Sunt virtutes quas quis fauricem ad eas naturam adeptus, levi opera sibi acquisivit, quas vero, si maleficiam nactus esset naturam, acquirere sibi nunquam potuisset." Br. "Bona animi, corporis, rerum externarum, quorum omnium documenta dantur in illis conventibus, ut animi, recitando; corporis, pugnando; divitiarum, χορηγία ἵπποτροφία, et omnino λειτουργία." Morus.

Page 15, l. 3. *ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν*, those things upon which they may pride themselves. G. § 65, 1, n. 3.

[The subjunctive and optative are very rare in this construction in Attic Greek, the future indicative being the only regular form. In Homer, however, the subjunctive and optative are commonly used, this older construction corresponding precisely with the Latin, as the relation of the two languages would lead us to expect. Another (doubtful) Attic example of the subjunctive may be found in Thuc. VII. 25, *πρέσβεις ἄγουσα, οἵπερ φράσωσιν, καὶ . . . ἐποτρύνωσιν*. Krüger, in his note on this passage of Thucydides (2d edit.,

1861), is very severe on those who retain *οἶπερ* with the subjunctive, for which he substitutes *ὅπως* on the authority of a single MS. He explains *φιλοτιμηθῶσιν* in the present passage of Isocrates as a subjunctive in an (indirect) dubitative question. The following examples of the aorist optative, however, show at least that the older construction was not unknown to the Attic poets:—*ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, οὐδ' ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν οὐδ' ὅστις . . . συλλάβοιτο*, Soph. Phil. 280;—*γόνιμον δὲ ποιητὴν ἂν οὐχ εὖροις ἔτι ζητῶν ἂν, ὅστις ῥῆμα γενναῖον λάκοι*, Aristoph. Ran. 96. In vs. 98 of the *Frogs* we find the regular Attic construction, *ὅστις φθέγγεται*, referring to precisely the same thing as *ὅστις λάκοι* above. Both these examples of the optative must be explained as relative sentences, and the subjunctive is certainly not more objectionable than the optative. Nor can the present example from Isocrates be explained as interrogative without great violence to the sense; the idea is not, *that they may know what they are to glory in*; but, *that they may have things in which they may glory*. See also, *ἰφ' οὐ πεισθέντες πρόοισθε*, Dem. Phil. II. § 8. See additional note, p. 135.]

3, 4. *ὅταν . . . ἐνθυμηθῶσιν*, G. § 61, 3.

5. *τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν*. The *θεωρία*, in its special sense, was the public deputation sent by the several states to represent them at these assemblies. It consisted of the most distinguished citizens, and was equipped with splendor and at great expense. Demosthenes once served as *ἀρχιθῆωρος*, or chief of the deputation from Athens to the Isthmian games. In its broader sense, *θεωρία* signifies the whole exhibition of the festival.

8-14. The number of festivals held at Athens made it the most brilliant capital of antiquity. These were partly under the management of the state, and partly furnished at the cost of wealthy or public-spirited individuals. They were celebrated by processions, choruses, musical contests, gymnastic games, and every other imaginable exhibition



that could call into exercise the creative genius of the Athenian people, and draw together crowds of people from the whole civilized world. The most interesting of these were the Eleusinian Mysteries, the Panathenaea, and the Dionysiac festivals, the last immortalized by having given occasion to the production of the Athenian dramatic literature. But there was scarcely a month in the year which was not marked by the cessation of business and the occurrence of some entertainment, embellished by the display of feats of bodily strength, or by the beautiful productions of genius and art. See *Clouds* of Aristophanes, 299–313.—*ἐν τῷ πλησιάσειν ἀλλήλοις, in holding intercourse with each other.*—*εἴ τι . . . ἐστι, G. § 49, 1.*

18. *ῥώμης . . . γνώμης.* “In oppositione ῥώμης καὶ γνώμης, soni similitudinem spectat Isocrates, quam figuram perditē amat.” Br.

22, 23. *ὅστε . . . ἀγαπᾶσθαι.* “Ὅτι . . . πολὺ τὸ σεμνὸν αἰ Ἀθῆναι πάλαι ποτὲ εἶχον, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ εἰπὼν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Ἑλλάδος Μουσεῖον. Ἐπι δὲ καὶ ὁ Πίνδαρος, Ἑλλάδος αὐτὰς ἔρισμα καλέσας, καὶ Θουκυδίδης Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάδα.” Eustathius,—cited by Bremi, who points out the verbal mistake of attributing precisely this expression to Thucydides. He, however, does represent Pericles as saying, *λέγω τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παιδεύσω εἶναι.* II. 41. Some of the touches in Milton’s magnificent description of Athens were probably suggested by these paragraphs of Isocrates. I insert the lines in this place:—

“Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,  
Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold  
Where on the Aegean shore a city stands,  
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil;  
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts  
And eloquence, native to famous wits,  
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,  
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.  
See there the olive-grove of Academe,

Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird  
 Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long ;  
 There flowery hill Hymettus with the sound  
 Of bees' industrious murmur oft invites  
 To studious musing ; there Ilissus rolls  
 His whispering stream. Within the walls then view  
 The schools of ancient sages ; his who bred  
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,  
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next.  
 There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power  
 Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit  
 By voice or hand ; and various-measured verse,  
 Aeolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,  
 And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,  
 Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called,  
 Whose poem Phoebus challenged for his own :  
 Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught  
 In Chorus or Iambic, teachers best  
 Of moral prudence, with delight received,  
 In brief sententious precepts, while they treat  
 Of fate, and chance, and change in human life ;  
 High actions and high passions best describing.  
 Thence to the famous orators repair,  
 Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence  
 Wielded at will that fierce democracy,  
 Shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece,  
 To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne.  
 To sage philosophy next lend thine ear,  
 From heaven descended to the low-roofed house  
 Of Socrates ; see there his tenement,  
 Whom well inspired the oracle pronounced  
 Wisest of men ; from whose mouth issued forth  
 Mellifluous streams that watered all the schools  
 Of Academics old and new, with those  
 Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect  
 Epicurean, and the Stoic severe."

*Paradise Regained*, Book IV. l. 236 - 280.

24, 25. *διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου*, at long intervals. — *ταχίως δελύθησαν*, are soon dissolved. This is the frequentative or gnomic aorist, or that particular usage by which a single instance of an action is put for the general fact, G. § 80, 1.

See Hadley's Gr. 707. Most of the panegyric assemblies lasted but a few days. They met at intervals of two or four years. See *ante*, p. 63.

27. φιλοσοφίαν. "Qualem Cicero descripsit, Tusc. V. 2." Mor. A part of the passage referred to is the following: "O vitæ philosophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum! Quid sed omnino vita hominum sine te esse potuisset? Tu urbes peperisti; tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitæ convocasti; tu eos inter se primo domiciliis, deinde conjugiiis, tum literarum et vocum communiōne junxisti; tu inventrix legum; tu magistra morum et disciplinae fuisti." — συνεξεύρε, *assisted in finding out*. "In inveniēdo excolēdoque adjuvit ingenium." Mor.

Page 16, l. 3, 4. τὰς τε . . . διεῖλε, *has distinguished between those which happen through ignorance and those which spring from necessity*. The genitive τῶν συμφορῶν depends on the partitive expressions τὰς τε, καὶ τὰς, each being a part of the whole.

6. λόγους, *words*; i. e. arguments, or the power of discussing moral and intellectual subjects.

9, 10. πλεονεκτήσαντες . . . διηγάμεν. The force of the aorist participle, and the aorist of the verb, thus connected, is, *having gained an advantage in this, we have gained the superiority in all other things*; the latter expressing a result of the state of things described by the former.

11. τὰς τύχας, *the fortunes*; i. e. of the human race, of men. — ὄσας, G. § 113; § 73, 2. [The other participles depending on ὄρωσα — μετόν, ὄντας, διαφέροντας, γιγνωσκομένους, γιγνομένους, ἀποδεδειγμένον, δυναμένους, ὄντας — are in the same construction, resembling that of the infinitive. Each tense of the participle represents the same tense of the indicative in the direct discourse. In the single case of μετόν the neuter singular is used, because it represents an *impersonal* verb; the construction in the direct discourse would have been τῶν λόγων οὐ μέτεστι τοῖς φαύλοις. See G. § 113, n. 3,

and the example there quoted from Demosth. in Eubul. p. 1299, 4: *πειράσομαι δείξει καὶ μετὸν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν καὶ πεπονθότα ἑμαυτὸν οὐχὶ προσήκοντα*, — the direct discourse being *μέτεστι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν, καὶ πέπονθα αὐτός*, &c.]

14. *μετόν* takes the genitive of the thing shared (*λογῶν τῶν καλῶς καὶ τεχνικῶς ἐχόντων*), and the dative of the person sharing (*τοῖς φαύλοις*).

15. *δντας* agrees with *λόγους*, to be supplied from the connection.

17, 18. *τοὺς . . . τεθραμμένους*, *those who have been liberally educated from their earliest years*.

20, 21. *γιγνωσκομένους . . . γιγνομένους*, &c. The present of the participle is used here to designate what ordinarily takes place; in the indicative, the aorist is often so used.

22. *ἀποδεδειγμένον*. The perfect is here used to designate what is established and fixed, what has been settled as a general truth.

26, 27. *περὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν*, *with respect to reasoning and speaking*; or the understanding and eloquence.

Page 17, l. 1. *γεγόνασι*, G. § 17, n. 3.

4. *καλεῖσθαι*. The subject of this infinitive is *τοὺς τῆς παιδείσεως . . . μετέχοντας*, and *Ἕλληνας* is in the predicate.

8. *ἀπορῶν*. The participle here may be rendered *because I am at a loss*. G. § 109, 4.

9. *εἰρήσθω*. G. § 18, 2. See note on p. 6, l. 16.

11. *τῶν κινδύνων*, *the perils which they incurred*.

16. *τὸν χρόνον*, *the time*; i. e. of their existence.

17, 18. *τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις αἰεὶ*, *those who were wronged for the time being*, whoever they might be. Present participle expressing the repeated action or condition.

18, 19. *Διὸ δὴ καὶ*, *Now for this very reason they even*. — *ὡς βουλευομένων*, G. § 109, n. 4.

21, 22. *ὥσπερ . . . τοιούτους*, *as if such words were not on the side of those who are desirous of praising us*. Con-

struction accusative absolute. For this particular construction of the accusative absolute, see Kühner, § 312, 6, d; and G. § 110, 2, n. 1. See note on p. 5, l. 17.

26. τὰ συμβαίοντ'. The *present participle*, to describe what usually happens.

Page 18, l. 1, 2. τοῖς κρείττοσι . . . συναδικεῖν, to join the more powerful in doing wrong, in committing injustice. — τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἕνεκα, for the sake of profit.

3. γνοίη ἄν, G. § 52, 2.

9. Ἡρακλέους παῖδες. In his survey of the claims to be asserted by Athens for the precedence, Isocrates goes back to the mythical ages before the Trojan war. The legend of Heracles, or Hercules, is placed, in the assumed chronology, at about the year 1300 B. C. By a fraud of Hera upon Zeus, Heracles was subjected to the commands of Eurystheus. After his death, his children were driven from the Peloponnesus. They fled first to Ceÿx, king of Trachiniae; thence to Athens, where Theseus received them kindly and gave them aid against Eurystheus. Eurystheus was killed in battle by Hyllus, son of Heracles. Parts of this legend are embodied in the Heracleidae of Euripides.

10. Ἄδραστος ὁ Ταλαοῦ. The legend of Adrastus, the son of Talauus, connects itself with the legends of the Theban line of sovereigns, — the house of Labdacus, Laius, and Oedipus. The principal names in the mythical times of Thebes are Cadmus, B. C. 1500; Polydorus, 1400; Labdacus and Laius, between 1400 and 1300. Oedipus was the fated son of Laius, whose history is so well known from the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. His "self-detected crimes" banished him from Thebes to the sacred ground of the Eumenides in Colonus, near Athens. His children by the ill-fated Jocasta, "by a twofold title, his mother and wife," were Eteocles and Polyneices, with their sisters Antigone and Ismene. The brothers were to reign by alternate years; but Eteocles refused, at the end of his year, to

resign the throne to his brother. This occasioned the first war of Thebes. Polyneices fled to Argos, and married the daughter of the Argive king, Adrastus. The alliance of "The Seven Chiefs" was formed, including Adrastus, Tydeus, Polyneices, Capaneus, Amphiaraus, Hippomedon, and Parthenopaeus. They invaded Thebes; a battle was fought under the walls, and all the chiefs were slain except Adrastus. The two brothers, Eteocles and Polyneices, fell by each other's hands. The Thebans refused to surrender the dead. Adrastus fled to Athens, and received the succor of the Athenians. From these legends the tragic poets drew the subjects of many of their pieces. Among those still preserved, the Seven against Thebes of Aeschylus, the Oedipus Tyrannus, Oedipus Coloneus, and Antigone of Sophocles, and the Phoenissae and Suppliants of Euripides, are founded upon the story of the Theban line.

13. ἀνελεῖσθαι, to take up, or recover, for burial. The sacred duty of burying the dead was laid upon the survivors by the most solemn sanctions of the Hellenic religion. The neglect of this duty was an offence against the most binding laws; to hinder its performance drew down upon the perverse and guilty man the direst vengeance of the gods.

15, 16. γιγνομένους, καταλύμενον, G. § 112, 1. See note on p. 16, l. 11.

18, 19. ὡς οὐκ ἂν δυναμένας. [δυναμένας ἂν here represents δύναντο ἂν.] G. § 41, 1. For ὡς with the causal participle, see G. § 109, n. 4.

23, 24. ἡγεμονικῶς εἶχε, was fit to rule. "Par imperio fuit." Mor.

25. τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέροις, those under the control of others.

26. ἄλλως τε καὶ, quum aliter tum, not only in other respects, but also. Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 321 (a).

Page 19, l. 4, 5. μὲν . . . δέ, both . . . and. The same co-ordination is effected in lines 7 and 9 by the same particles.

8. θάψαι, G. § 97, n. 1.

10. μαχόμενοι, *in battle*. Participial construction.

13. Οὐ . . . ἐποίησαν, *They did not do it wanting a little*; i. e. they did not fall short a little of doing it. Coray explains *παρὰ μικρόν τι ποιεῖν* as *μικρόν δεῖν ποιεῖν τι*; i. e. *to want but little of doing a thing*, to come near doing a thing without actually accomplishing it. Translate the whole phrase, *They did not fail to do it*.

18. *ικέτης ἠναγκάσθη καταστήναι*, *was compelled to take the position of a suppliant*.

20, 21. *τοῖσφ* depends on *ἐπιτάττων*, though *λυμαινόμενος* may also be constructed with the dative, as well as with the accusative. For the participles with *διετέλεσεν*, see G. § 112, 2.

23. *ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου*, *in the power of his children*.

25, 26. *Πολλῶν . . . Λακεδαιμονίων*. Literally, *There existing many services to us, towards the city of the Lacedaemonians*; i. e. Many services having been rendered by us to the Lacedaemonians.

Page 20, l. 3. *κατῆλθον*. According to the legends, the Heracleidae had not long repossessed themselves of their hereditary abodes, when they were again driven into exile in consequence of a pestilence, which was supposed to indicate the anger of Heaven. Once more they took refuge in Attica. Their second restoration appears in history as the "Return of the Heracleidae," which represents the invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians, and the establishment of Dorian reigning families in the principal Peloponnesian cities, as Argos, Sparta, Messene. The double royal line at Sparta, the Eurysthenidae and Proclidae, claimed to be descended from Hercules through these Heracleid or Dorian leaders. Their direct ancestors were Eurysthenes and Procles. See Grote's History of Greece, Vol. II.; Müller's Dorians, Vol. I.

7. *ἐχρῆν μηδέποτε εἰσβαλεῖν, μηδὲ . . . ἀξιοῦν*, G. § 49, 2,

n. 3. A protasis is understood, implying an unfulfilled condition. G. § 52, 2.

15. ἀνελόντας, *having set aside, or put out of the question.*

16, 17. οὐ δὴ που . . . ἐστίν, *it is not assuredly.*

23. διατελοῦσαι (sc. οὔσαι), G. § 112, 2.

23 – Page 21, l. 3. Φαίνονται . . . διασώσαντες. This sentence, though clear in meaning, is of doubtful construction. In some editions, this and the following sentence are joined into one. See the note of Spohn upon the passage. Wolf's explanation is: "ὥστε ἐπιτάττοντες, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπέταξαν. Videtur numeros spectasse potius quam constructionem." The construction is therefore an *anacoluthon*, or rather a species of attraction. Says Baiter: "Quae pendere debebant ex participio τοσοῦτον διενεγκόντες ὥστε referuntur ad verbum primarium φαίνονται." Perhaps we may construct all the participles with some verb easily to be inferred from φαίνονται, or even with φαίνονται itself repeated, so that the clauses which follow ὥστε contain the particulars included in the general expression, τοσοῦτον ἀπάντων διενεγκόντες.

3. Ὡστε. "Verba ὥστε . . . δυνηθείη totam argumentationem claudunt, recteque a proxime antecedentibus majori interpunctione sejunguntur." Baiter.

6 – 8. τῶν . . . πεπραγμένων. This construction, in speaking of what has been done by one party in either friendly or hostile intercourse with another, the dative of the former, and the accusative with the preposition εἰς or πρὸς of the latter, is very common in the orators. — ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καί. Coray edits, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ. The distinction, pointed out by Hermann (ad Viger. p. 780), is, that in the formula ἄλλως τε καί "ad ea spectat ἄλλως quae praeferimus, καὶ autem ad illud quod ut momentum praeferendi hoc ipso loco et tempore ponimus. . . . In ἄλλως τε illud quod praecipuum est per ἄλλως significatur." Translate here, *for other reasons, and especially because*; ἐπειδὴ καί, in this formula, introducing the principal ground for the selection of this topic.



9. [*ἐξαριθμῶν* is equivalent to *εἰ* with the present optative, and forms the protasis to *λίαν ἂν μακρολογοίην*. G. § 52, 1; § 109, 6.]

12 - 16. \**Ἔστι . . . διακινδυνεύσασα*. In this sentence and the following paragraph the orator reverts to incidents partly legendary, and partly, perhaps, historical. The story of the Thracian invasion, under the leader Eumolpus, is placed in the time of Erechtheus; that of the Scythians, in the time of Theseus. Eumolpus was fabled to be the son of Poseidon and Chione. He was thrown into the sea and borne to Aethiopia, and thence returned to Thrace. In consequence of a conspiracy in which he was involved, he fled to Attica, where he was initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries, and made an Hierophant. He afterwards engaged in a war with Erechtheus, called the Eleusinian war. Both were slain, but the priesthood remained hereditary in the Eumolpid family, and was held by them nearly twelve hundred years.

The legend of the Amazons was one of the most widely diffused of all the fabulous traditions of the Greeks. They were the daughters of Ares and Harmonia, and appear in poetry and fiction as a nation or race of warrior women, as early as the Iliad. The name of one Amazonian queen was Penthesilea. The Argonauts found them on the Thermodon, where Hercules attacked them. They invaded Attica in the time of Theseus, and were defeated. The place of the battle was pointed out near the Pnyx. This legend was deeply inwrought in the national traditions, and was a favorite subject of Hellenic art. The existence of such a nation was believed in by many of the ablest men among the ancients, as Herodotus, Lysias, Plato, Isocrates. Even the historians of Alexander the Great pretended, that, in his campaigns in the East, he was visited by Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons at that time. The existence of the Amazons was an article of popular belief down to the Ro-

man times. Suetonius states it as the opinion of Julius Caesar, that they had once held possession of the greater part of Asia. In the triumph of Aurelian, after the defeat of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, some Gothic women were proclaimed in the procession as Amazons. See Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq., Art. Amazons.

The Scythians, Thracians, and Persians were described as among the most powerful ancient nations. Herodotus (V. 3) says: *Θρηάκιον δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι, μετὰ γε Ἰνδούς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων, The nation of the Thracians is the greatest of the whole human race, next to the Indi*; to which he adds, that, if they were governed by one man, they would be invincible. Pausanias (I. 9, § 6) says that the Thracians are more numerous than any other race, except the Kelts. Thucydides (II. 97) describes the Thracian empire as opulent and powerful. In Xenophon's Memorabilia (II. 1. 10), Socrates is represented as saying that the Scythians rule Europe, i. e. that part not subject to the Greeks. Herodotus and Thucydides also speak of the Scythians, the former at great length. The Persians, though the principal people of Asia, are known chiefly through their collisions with the Greeks.

In regard to the Persian invasions, though the facts are the commonplaces of history, it will be well to notice the leading dates. The first campaign under Mardonius took place B. C. 492; the invasion of Attica, by Datis and Artaphernes, 490, the battle of Marathon being fought in September of that year; Xerxes succeeded Darius, 485; armed against Greece, 484; and the second Persian war broke out, 480, Xerxes crossing the Hellespont in the summer of that year; then followed, in rapid succession, the battle of Thermopylae, the battle of Artemisium, and the overrunning of Greece by the Persian hosts; in September, the sea-fight of Salamis, and the flight of Xerxes; finally, in September, 479, the battles of Plataea and Mycale.

Page 22, l. 5, 6. *κινδυνεύσειν, κρατήσῃν*, G. § 27, n. 1 ; § 73, 1.

8. [*ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐπολέμησαν*, i. e. *ὥσπερ ἂν ἐφθάρησαν*. G. § 53, n. 3 ; § 42, 3, n. 2.]

Page 23, l. 1, 2. *ἀμφοτέρων κρατήσαντες* ; i. e. both the enemy and the allies. Having conquered the enemy in battle, and having surpassed the allies in energy and bravery.

2. *πρός*, in respect of, in regard to.

3. *εὐθὺς μὲν* ; i. e. after the battle of Artemisium, when the honor of pre-eminent merit and valor was awarded to the Athenians. See Herod. VIII. 17, and Diodorus Sic. XI. 13.

4, 5. *τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἔλαβον*. This refers to the supremacy which the Athenians acquired after the Persian war, chiefly through their naval power. The Greek islands and several of the Greek states in Asia Minor joined the confederacy and paid tribute (*φόρος*) to Athens. The resources thus placed at the command of the city for a long series of years gave her an immense preponderance in Grecian affairs, and enabled the Athenian statesmen to render the capital not only the centre of political power, but the chosen home of literature, eloquence, and the arts.

8. [*μηδεὶς οἰέσθω*. The present imperative and the aorist subjunctive are the regular forms after *μή* in prohibitions.] G. § 86.

10. *ὅτι κατέστησαν*, G. § 70, 1.

12. *ὅτι διήνεγκεν*, G. § 81, 1.

14. *ταχὺ λίαν παραδραμεῖν*, to run over the subject very rapidly.

15. *ἵνα γένηται*, G. § 44, 1.

17. *ἐπελθόντα*, agreeing with the subject of *λέγειν*.

18. *προκατειλημμένων*, which have been preoccupied.

20. *τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις*, those who are publicly buried. It was a common custom at Athens to bury with public ceremonies those who had fallen in the public service. Some

citizen eminent for eloquence was selected to deliver a discourse (called ἐπιτάφιος λόγος). Thucydides (II. 34, 35) describes the burial of those who had fallen in the first summer of the Peloponnesian war, and the honors the Athenians conferred upon them (τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι). On that occasion the discourse was delivered by Pericles himself. There is a funeral oration by Lysias; others were delivered by Hypercides, Demosthenes, &c. The latter makes it a strong point in his defence against the charges of Aeschines, that he was appointed to perform this duty over those who were slain at Chaeronea. The oration of Hypercides over the Greeks who fell at Lamia, — one of the most celebrated in antiquity, — long supposed to be lost, has been lately discovered among fragments of Egyptian papyri.

24. ὀκητιέον, G. § 114, 2.

26. γεγενῆσθαι, G. § 73, 1.

Page 24, l. 3. προασκήσαντες, *who previously trained.*

6–9. Observe the careful antitheses between the clauses of this sentence, by the repetition of the corresponding particles μέν and δέ. Observe also the force of the imperfect tense in describing *habitual* action.

9. πρὸς ἀργύριον, *by the standard of money.*

12, 13. μέλλοι . . . εὐδοκίμησειν . . . καταλείψειν. For the use of μέλλω with the infinitive, see Kühner, § 306. 1 (a); Soph. § 89, 2; G. § 25, 2. [μέλλοι and also τυγχάνοι are in the optative merely because they stand in indirect discourse after εἰδοίκει. G. § 74, 1. They represent the present *indicative* of the direct discourse, in which the whole sentence would be: οὗτος πλοῦτον ἀσφαλέστατον κέκτηται, ὅστις τοιαῦτα τυγχάνει πράττων ἐξ ὧν μέλλει, &c.]

14, 15. τὰς θρασύτητας . . . τὰς τόλμας, *nor did they emulate each other's harshness, nor cultivate in themselves dispositions to oppress.* Bremi remarks upon this sentence: "Habet etiam codex noster Ambros. ἄλλων pro ἀλλήλων; quod non displicet. Ἄλλοι enim sunt, qui vocabantur socii

tum Atheniensium tum Lacedaemoniorum, qui vero ab utrisque ut subjecti contumeliose tractabantur. Dicit igitur maiores non aemulatos esse in superba *alios* tractandi ratione; quae sententia sequentibus explicatur. In sequentibus recte οὐδὲ τὰς τόλμας τὰς αὐτῶν ἡσκουν pro καθ' ἑαυτῶν. Sic enim utraque membra respondent, et αὐτῶν est genitivus obiectivus." This differs from the explanation given above; but it depends partly on a different reading from that adopted in the text.

16. [εἶναι is the present infinitive of indirect discourse, representing the present indicative, G. § 15, 2; ἀκούειν is the ordinary present infinitive, with no designation of time, G. § 15, 1.]

19. τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν. For the possessive followed by a genitive, see Soph. § 156, 1, b.

20, 21. ἐσκόπουν ὅπως ἄρξουσιν, G. § 45; compare § 44, 2.

24. δεήσει, G. § 70, 2. [δέησαι might have been used here. So with δμολοήσουσιν, l. 26, and the indirect questions, ὁπότεροι ἄρξουσιν and ὁπότεροι φθήσονται, p. 25, l. 1-3; in all of which the future optative would have been regular.]

27. πολιτικῶς εἶχον, were so public-spirited.

Page 25, l. 3. φθήσονται . . . ποιήσαντες. For the construction of φθάνω with participles, in the sense of *to be the first to do* what is indicated by the participle, see Kühner, § 310, 4 (1); Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222, 3 (c); G. § 112, 2. For the peculiar use of the *aorist* participle, not referring to the past, see G. § 24, notes 1 and 2. See note on p. 30, l. 20.

5. ἐπὶ τῇ . . . ὠφελείᾳ. This preposition, with the dative, often expresses *aim* or *object*, as here.

9-11. ἡγεμόνες and δεσπότες are connected in the way of comparison; καὶ σωτῆρες, though placed after δεσπότες, may be construed with ἡγεμόνες. The other and perhaps more natural construction is to connect καὶ σωτῆρες with the following clause. In this case, Bremi remarks that a *zeugma* takes place here, because ἀποκαλεῖσθαι is taken in a bad

sense and can apply only to *λυμεῶνες* in its full force. But it is used sometimes in a good as well as a bad sense, though generally the latter. Diodorus Siculus applies it to benefactors.

18. *ἴδια, their own*; not *private*, as sometimes rendered.

23. *ὥστε δυνηθῆναι*, G. § 98, 1.

Page 26, l. 2. *ὑπείσι πράξεις, actions are under*; i. e. *support*.

9. *ποιῶν ἂν ἀπέστησαν*, G. § 52, 2.

10. *ζῶντες εὐδοκίμειν*. For construction of nominative with infinitive, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222, 3 (c).

12-15. *οἶμαι . . . θεῶν τινα συναγαγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ διαλάβοιεν*. G. § 23, 2. [The aorist infinitive here denotes past time, like the aorist indicative, as it regularly does after a verb of *saying* or *thinking*. Here its force as a secondary tense is made especially obvious by the three optatives, *διαλάβοιεν*, *τελευτήσαιεν*, and *ἀξιωθεῖεν*, which depend upon it. See also the three aorist infinitives, p. 27, lines 14, 16, and 18.]

21, 22. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, yet*. For the ellipsis of a clause after the negative, see Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 322, R. 11.

23, 24. *σφᾶς αὐτοῦς = ἀλλήλους*.

24. *ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ, for the enslavement*. In the following clauses, observe the careful manner in which the balance is kept up by the correlative particles.

26, 27. *ὁπότεροι γενήσονται*. See note on p. 24, l. 24.

Page 27, l. 3. *οἱ μὲν, the Athenians*. For the description of the events here alluded to, see Herod. V. 102. The Athenians hastened to meet the enemy without waiting for the arrival of the allies.

7, 8. *ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύειν, as if they had been about to incur a risk in other's lives*; i. e. *they risked their own lives as readily as if it had been the lives of others that were in peril*. See G. § 109, n. 3 (b). [When a participle is thus used with *ὥσπερ*, there is an ellipsis of an apodosis, to which the participle forms the protasis,—

*ὥσπερ* meaning simply *as* (not, *as if*). Thus here the full form would be, *ὥσπερ ἂν ἐποίουν μέλλοντες* (= *εἰ ἔμελλον*) *κινδυνεύειν*, *as (they would have done) if they had been about to incur a risk, &c.* Sometimes the full form *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ* (or, in one word, *ὥσπερανεῖ*) is used, as in Plat. Gorg. 479 A, *φοβούμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παῖς*, — i. e. *ὥσπερ ἂν ἐφοβείτο εἰ παῖς ἦν*, — *fearing like a child*. G. § 42, 3, n. 2. Here, however, if a participle follows, the *εἰ* is strictly pleonastic, as below, p. 46, l. 11, *ὥσπερανεῖ προπεμπόμενοι*, on which see note.] — *οὐκ ἔφθησαν πυθόμενοι*, *had no sooner heard of*. Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222. 3 (c). See note on p. 25, l. 3.

9. *καί* is idiomatically used, and may be rendered *when*. See Matt. Gr. Gr., § 620. a. Bremi illustrates it by several parallel passages from the other orations of Isocrates.

11. *ἂν*. Constructed with some word to be supplied, *as they would have done*. G. § 42, 3, n. 2. See note on *ὥσπερ μέλλοντες*, above, p. 27, l. 7.

13. *τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας*, *within the same day*.

14–18. For the infinitives, *πυθέσθαι*, *στήσαι*, *διελθεῖν*, see note on p. 26, l. 12–15.

15, 16. *βοηθήσαντας . . . νικήσαντας*. For the juxtaposition of several adjectives or participles with a copulative, see Matt. Gr. Gr., § 444. 3. — *τρόπαιον . . . πολεμίων*, *to raise a trophy of victory over the enemy*. For this use of the genitive, see Matt. Gr. Gr., § 367. B.

18, 19. *στρατοπέδῳ πορευομένους*, *marching in battle array*.

20. *φθῆναι συμβαλόντες*, *to engage first in conflict*. For construction, see note to p. 25, l. 3. — *πρὶν ἐλθεῖν*, G. § 106.

21. *τοὺς βοηθήσοντας*. Future participle expressing purpose.

25, 26. *ὑπερβολὰς προθυμηθεὶς εἰπεῖν*. *ὑπερβολὰς* here signifies *strange, extraordinary things*; things that go beyond the common range of human events. Translate, *having desired to speak of wonders*.

Page 28, l. 4. *οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο, πρὶν ἐξεῦρε*, G. § 67, 1, and n. 4.

5, 6. πλεῦσαι . . . πεζεῦσαι. These expressions refer to the bridge built by Xerxes across the Hellespont, and the canal cut through Mount Athos. Evident traces of this canal still exist, confirming the truth of the Greek historians and exposing the ignorance of Juvenal, who says (Sat. X. 173):—

“Creditor olim  
Velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax  
Audet in historia.”

8. Πρὸς δὴ. The particle δὴ has here an emphasizing force, *Now against*.

12, 13. ὡς . . . κωλύσοντας, *for the purpose of hindering them in the narrows*. For προελθεῖν after κωλύσοντας, see G. § 95, 2, with n. 1. [Instead of the simple infinitive we might have had μὴ προελθεῖν, τοῦ προελθεῖν, or τοῦ μὴ προελθεῖν.] For ὡς, see G. § 109, n. 4.

19, 20. τῆς . . . μάχης, *on account of the battle at Marathon*. Genitive of cause or source.—αὐτοὺς ἐξιῶσαι, *to place themselves on an equality*.

21. μὴ γένηται, G. § 46; compare § 44, 2.

23. διαφυλάξαι. The preposition in this composition gives to the action the idea of persistency or permanency, *to preserve throughout*.

25. ἐνίκησαν, G. § 70, 2.

Page 29, l. 1. τὴν ἀρετὴν . . . περιγυρομένην, *that valor is superior to numbers*. Present participle describing the usual state of things, or what commonly happens. G. § 113.

4. τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέπειον, *were overcome in their bodies, fell*; alluding to those Spartans who were slain at Thermopylae.

6, 7. πρόπλους. ναῦς understood. Xerxes had sent two hundred or (Diod. Sic.) three hundred ships forward to attack the Grecian fleet.

7. τῆς παρόδου, *the passage*; i. e. of Thermopylae.



11. *κινδύνων*. Partitive genitive. This construction of the genitive is a favorite one with Isocrates.

19. *εισβάλλειν*, G. § 25, 2, n. 1.

23. *ίδίδου*, *offered*. The present and imperfect of this verb often have this signification. G. § 11, n. 2.

24, 25. *ἡγούμενος, εἰ προσλάβοι, κρατήσῃν*, G. § 74, 1; § 73, 1. [The direct discourse was, *εἰν προσλάβω, κρατήσω*, hence *εἰν προσλάβῃ* might have been used here.]

26. *οὐδ'* qualifies *ἄρμῃσαν* (p. 30, l. 1).

27. *Ἑλλησιν, the Greeks*; i. e. those Greeks who had joined the invading army. — *ὅτι προὔδοθῃσαν, because they* (i. e. the Athenians) *had been betrayed*. G. § 81, 1.

Page 30, l. 5. *προσῆκειν, that it was natural, that it belonged to*. G. § 15, 2. So *εἶναι*, l. 7.

9. *ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν*. Observe the different shades of meaning in the aorist and the present tense, — the aorist infinitive describing a single experience, and the present a continuous state.

11. *ὀφθῆναι γενομέναις*. For this participial construction with an infinitive, see Kühner, § 310. 4.

15. *τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσον, the neighboring island*; i. e. Salamis, to which most of the Athenians retired, with their families, on the approach of the Persian army.

16. *ἐν μέρει, in turn*. — *ἐξέπλευσαν ἵνα κινδυνεύσωσιν*, G. § 44, 2. [The subjunctive is used instead of the optative in final clauses, after secondary tenses, on a principle analogous to that by which, in indirect discourse, the indicative can be used for the optative. Thus, we can say *εἶπεν ὡς τοῦτο ἀληθές εἶναι*, or *εἶπεν ὡς τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστί*, — both meaning, *he said that this was true*, — because the direct discourse was *τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστί*, and the *ἐστί* can either be retained in the quotation after a past tense, or changed to the same tense of the optative. On the same principle, in final clauses, we may say either *ἦλθεν ἵνα τοῦτο ἴδῃ*, or *ἦλθεν ἵνα τοῦτο ἴδῃ*, — both meaning, *he came that he might see this*, — because,

as the purpose was originally conceived, the person said *ἔρχομαι ἵνα ἴδω*, *I go that I may see*; and a speaker or writer who narrates the act as a past event can either retain the same mood and tense (saying *ἵνα ἴδῃ*), or use the corresponding tense of the optative (saying *ἵνα ἴδοι*.)]

20. For *γενομένην* after *ἐπιδείν*, see G. § 112, 1; and for the *tense* of the participle, § 24, notes 1 and 2. Compare note on p. 25, l. 3. [The aorist participle here differs from the following presents precisely as the aorist infinitive would have differed from the present in a similar construction. That is, the city *being made desolate* (as a single act) is opposed to the (continuous) *ravaging of the country* by the enemy after their entrance, *πορθουμένην*, the *plundering and burning* of the temples, *συλώμενα* and *ἐμπυραμένους*, and the gradual *coming on* (*γιγνόμενον*) of a state of war in their country. This peculiar use of the aorist participle, in which it seems to lose its force as a past tense, — like the aorist infinitive out of indirect discourse, — is most common with such verbs as *λανθάνω*, *φθάνω*, *τυγχάνω*, &c. See the reference given above.]

25, 26. *καταισχυνθέντες* implies admiration of the excellence of another, and shame for being outdone by him.

Page 31, l. 1. *αὐτοὶ σωθήσεσθαι*. For the construction of the nominative with the infinitive, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222. 3 (c). For the tense of the infin., see G. § 73, 1.

2. *ἠναγκάστησαν*, *were compelled*; i. e. through the sense of shame described by *καταισχυνθέντες*. The historians give a somewhat different account of the affair. See Herodotus, VIII. 42.

6. *λέγοντα*, *in speaking*. The participle agrees with the accusative subject of *διατρίβειν*.

8. *ταῦτα δ'*. Werfer, cited by Bremi, observes of the particle *δέ*, used as it is here, that, if a period precedes, to which, in what follows, another is opposed in such a way that the *protasis* and *apodosis* of the latter may refer by

antithesis to the protasis and apodosis of the former, μέν is used in the former, and δέ both in the protasis and apodosis of the latter. Μέν, however, sometimes appears but once, while δέ is repeated, as in this passage. See G. Rem. after § 64, n. 2.

10-12. μέν . . . οὐδείς δέ. Upon the relation of the particles μέν and δέ in this place, Spohn remarks: "Orator, verborum concinnitati et numerorum suavitati indulgens, paullulum recessit a recta via, sive verius obscuriorem reddidit nexum. Sensus hic est: Urbs plures quidem instruxit naves ad pugnam quam reliqui socii; inde autem patet eam salutis nostrae esse causam. Posterius vero membrum ornatu in oratorio variatum est."

14, 15. κρατῆσαι, γενέσθαι, G. § 23, 2.

19. τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἀγώνων (partitive gen.), *the common conflicts*; conflicts in which the common welfare of Greece was at stake.

24, 25. τῶν κακῶν . . . μέρος μετασχόντες. Words signifying to participate usually take the genitive; sometimes, however, the accusative signifying the part is expressed, as in the present instance.

24-27. οὐκ ἂν πάθοιμεν, εἰ . . . ἀναγκασθῆιμεν, G. § 50, 2.

Page 32, l. 3, 4. [γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ . . . ἂν εἶναι. The direct discourse would be γηγένηται, καὶ . . . ἂν εἶη. G. § 73, 1; § 41, 1.]

5-8. ἐπειδὴ . . . προφέρουσιν. It may be well to explain at some length the historical bearings of the incidents here alluded to. The conduct of the Athenians during the Persian wars had justly given them a pre-eminence in the general affairs of Greece. Sparta, however, was jealous of their power, and constantly endeavored to check its growth. The supremacy by sea Athens was able to vindicate and maintain, through the naval power she had acquired by following the policy recommended by Themistocles. While the memory of the Persian wars still remained fresh,

the inferior states of Greece were glad to range themselves under the powerful protection of Athens, by entering into a confederacy with her. They formed, therefore, a league, at the head of which Athens was placed, and contributions for the common defence were apportioned among the allies. Aristides, whose character for justice inspired the highest confidence, was appointed to investigate the resources of the states, and to assign to each its proportion to be paid into the common fund. The assessment, as determined by him, gave universal satisfaction. The temple of Apollo, in the island of Delos, was fixed upon as the treasury, and the money was placed under the special care of a board of managers, Athenian citizens, and chosen by Athenians, denominated Hellenotamiae. This took place B. C. 477. There also assemblies were held, consisting of deputies from the confederated states, under the presidency of Athens. The annual amount of the tributes (*φόροι*) was at first four hundred and sixty talents. The details of the distribution of this heavy burden it is not necessary to dwell upon. The allies, though paying this tribute, considered themselves independent (*αὐτόνομοι*). But by degrees the Athenians encroached upon the rights of the allies, and finally reduced most of them to the rank of subject states. This led to oppression on one side and revolt on the other. The payment of tribute was no longer regarded by the Athenians as a free contribution, but as a debt, the discharge of which they had a right to enforce by arms. The allies were at the same time deprived of a vote in the assembly. See Thucyd. I. 94–99; and Grote, Vol. V., chapters 44 and 45.

A violent invasion of the rights of the allies was made B. C. 461. The treasure was removed from Delos to Athens. The excuse for this removal of the deposits was the same as that for a more recent act,—“the greater security of the treasury” from the Barbarians. In the time of Pericles, the annual tributes are said to have

amounted to six hundred talents; and that wily and able statesman obtained undisputed control over them.

The money was now employed to promote the peculiar interests of Athens. The city was embellished with costly edifices, and innumerable works of surpassing excellence in every department of the fine arts. The expensive festivals, the choric and dramatic entertainments, and the frequent donations to the people, were in part paid for out of the resources drawn from the subject states. The amount of tribute was from time to time increased, until it rose to three or four times the original sum.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, out of the whole confederacy, only three states, Chios, Mitylene, and Lesbos, retained their independence; but the disastrous close of that long and bloody conflict put an end for the present to the contributions of the allies. Aristophanes, in the comedy of *The Wasps*, speaks of a thousand subject cities, which indicates, at least, that at that time the confederacy was very extensive.

In the course of the Peloponnesian war, the transactions spoken of in the text as having afforded matter of reproach against the Athenians took place. Melos was a Dorian colony of the Lacedaemonian race. (See Herod. VIII. 48, and Bähr's note to Herod. VIII. 46.) It continued faithful to Sparta until B. C. 416, when a formidable expedition was fitted out from Athens to reduce the island. A squadron of thirty-eight galleys, with about three thousand troops on board, set sail. The Melians refused to yield to the summons, and declared their resolution to maintain the independence they had enjoyed for seven hundred years. The siege was prosecuted with great vigor, and before the end of the year the Melians were reduced, by the sufferings incident to war, to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The Athenians, with dreadful cruelty, as Thucydides relates (V. 116), "put to death the adult Melians, and enslaved the

children and women; the land they occupied themselves, having sent out afterwards five hundred colonists."

A few years earlier than this, B. C. 421, the catastrophe of Scione was brought about. Scione, situated on the peninsula of Pallene, renounced the Athenian alliance, and received the Spartan general, Brasidas, who was prosecuting military operations in the North. The Athenians were indignant at this proceeding, which they considered as a violation of the truce of a year just concluded between them and the Lacedaemonians. In B. C. 419, Scione was compelled to surrender at discretion. A decree had already been passed at Athens (Thucyd. IV. 122), on the motion of Cleon, dooming the Scionaeans to death. This decree was executed to the letter. The men were slain, and the women and children reduced to slavery.

Isocrates dwells but little on the Peloponnesian war, because there is but little in that long, bloody, and ruinous strife which redounds to the glory of Athens. Two transactions so atrocious as those at Melos and Scione, and so injurious to the fame of Athens, could not well be passed over unnoticed; for they were a matter of common reproach to the city. Isocrates makes but a poor defence. The amount of it is, that others have shown equal or greater cruelty.

14-16. *αἱ . . . ἐπιτιμῶν*, G. § 54, 1 (a).

18. [*ἦν μή τις κολάζῃ* is used in a *general* supposition, the leading verb *ἐστί* expressing a general truth. G. § 51.]

24, 25. *Ἐπὶ . . . ἡγεμονίας*, *In the time of our supremacy* (*Hegemony, leading, or right of precedence* conceded to some one of the Grecian states by the rest). — *οἴκους*, *houses*; i. e. *family estates*.

26, 27. *ἐπιδόντας* and *γενομένας*, participles in *oratio obliqua*. G. § 73, 2; § 113.

Page 33, l. 1. *αὐτῶν*. Part. gen. depending on *ταῖς ἀξιομέναις*. — *ἐνεποιούμεν*. Imperfect, expressing continued or customary action.

2. πολιτείας ἐναντίας, *forms of governments* (or constitutions) *opposed to each other.*

6. συμμαχικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δεσποτικῶς, *as allies, not as masters.* This statement is not wholly borne out by history. At the beginning, the allies were treated with due regard to their independence; but afterwards, as we have already seen, the Athenians assumed towards them the authority of masters.

7, 8. δλων . . . ἰδίᾳ. The former expression refers to the relations of the several cities with other states; the latter to the constitution and internal arrangements of the allies. — ἐκάστους. “Singuli intelligantur; non cives, sed singulae civitates et republicae; ut Rhodii, Chii, Byzantii.” Wolf.

12. τῶν ἀρχῶν, *the offices of state.*

14. μετοικεῖν, *to be in the condition of the μέτοικοι.* These, at Athens, were resident aliens, allowed certain privileges on the payment of an annual sum of money, but not permitted to take any part in the affairs of state. In the census by Demetrius Phalereus, the number of this class of the population was ten thousand, consisting chiefly of persons engaged in mercantile business. They were not allowed to acquire landed property. Each μέτοικος was required to place himself under the protection of some citizen, who was his patron, προστάτης, legal representative, and surety. The greater part of the business transacted at Athens was in the hands of these aliens. It is to the condition of this class that Isocrates compares the state of the great body of citizens in the oligarchical governments of Greece. For a full account, see Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, art. μέτοικοι. See, also, Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, Book I. ch. 7 and 24, III. ch. 7, and IV. ch. 10, Lamb's translation. Also Wolf's Prolegomena ad Lept.

14, 15. τῆς πολιτείας ἀποστερεῖσθαι, *to be deprived of political rights.*

20. ἔχοντα agrees with the subject of ἐπαινεῖν, in the preceding line, and denotes the cause. G. § 109, 4.

21. *ἑβδομήκοντ' ἔτη*, *seventy years*. The period during which the condition of things here described existed at Athens is differently stated by different writers. Lysias (Epitaph., p. 113, R.) agrees with the number here given. Isocrates, in the Panathenaicus, puts it sixty-five (p. 214, 29); Demosthenes, forty-five (Olynth., III. p. 35, R. § 24); again, seventy-three (Phil. III. p. 116, § 23); Lycurgus, adv. Leocr. (c. 17), ninety; Andocides, de Pace (p. 107), eighty-five; Dionysius Halicarn., Ant. Rom. (I. 3), sixty-eight. The fact seems to be, that no such period, strictly considered, occurred in the annals of Athens. But there was a period of comparative tranquillity, in the early age of the Athenian republic, which may be variably estimated, as the reader chooses to fix the beginning and the end at different dates in the chronology, leaving out of consideration, or noticing, according to the view he may take of them, the temporary and partial disturbances that occasionally broke in upon the general repose. [The two numbers given by Demosthenes (45 and 73) may be reconciled by supposing that he included under the former the time between the establishment of the confederacy of Delos, in 477 B. C., and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, in 432–31 B. C., and under the latter the whole time until the end of the war in 404 B. C. As the war was carried on to break up the Athenian empire, it was proper to include the 27 years of its duration in the period of supremacy. Isocrates seems to refer in round numbers to the same period which Demosthenes gives more exactly as 73 years. But when he adds the phrase *εἰρήνην ἀγοντες πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους*, he falls into a style of exaggeration, in which the Attic orators frequently indulge when speaking of the more glorious history of the preceding century.]

26. *τὰς κληρουχίας*. *Κλῆρος*, a *lot*, has also a local, Athenian sense, and means the portion of land taken from the public enemy, or from a revolted tributary, and granted to



an Athenian citizen for the purpose of colonization. The citizens receiving these lands were called κληροῦχοι; and the possession and occupation κληρουχία. This feature in the public policy of Athens gave rise to many acts of injustice and oppression, which brought reproach upon her name. (See Boeckh's Pub. Econ. of Athens, pp. 110, 162, 300, 308, 524, 526, 540, 546, American translation, by Lamb.

Page 34, l. 3, 4. ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, *considered in reference to the number, or in proportion to the number.*

7, 8. ἰπὸ τὴν Ἀττικὴν. "Ἐπὶ cum accusativo regionis loci propinquitatem significat, illiusque, ni fallor, regionis in aliam vel propter loci naturam potestatem. Posterior significatio ipso vocis sono aliquantulum in praepositione morantis substantivumque ab ea quasi separantis augetur." Bremi.

9. εὐφύως εἶχε, *had great natural advantages.* See Thucyd. VIII. 96.

10, 11. κρατοῦντες . . . αὐτῶν. Wolf explains, "κρατοῦντες ἂν αὐτῆς, ἤγουν, εἴπερ ἠβουλόμεθα"; i. e. *we might control it, if we chose.* But Morus, "*obtinentes, i. e. obtinere volentes, id agentes ut imperio teneremus.*" Bremi, "*Quia scilicet nec incolae nec alius quisquam, qui eorum tutelam voluisset recipere, Atheniensium opibus potuisset resistere.*" The idea seems to be, that, on account of the position and physical peculiarities of Euboea, the Athenians, with the aid, it is to be supposed, of their navy, had it more completely within their power than they had the Attic territory itself; and yet, as the orator goes on to remark, they were not tempted to any act of injustice against its possessors.

14-18. ὁμῶς . . . ἐχόντων. The construction of the preceding clause and this part of the sentence is an example of *anacoluthon*, passing, as it does, from the nominative of the participle to the accusative of the pronoun to which the participle refers; the accusative being governed by ἐπῆρε. "*Primum nempe persona, Athenienses, ut subjectum oratoris animo obversabatur; hinc ejus attributa per participia*

expressa in nominativo ponuntur; progrediente enuntiatione, periculosa et corruptrix rerum conditio animum loquentis occupat, et hoc fit subjectum οὐδὲν τούτων, et hoc verbum attrahit ἐπήρε. Hinc persona, quae ab initio ut subjectum obversabatur, fit objectum ἡμᾶς, et attributa in nominativo praecedentia pendent per anacoluthon, si vis, rhetoricum potius quam grammaticum." Bremi. The statement in the text with regard to the conduct of the Athenians towards Euboea is contradicted by the facts of history. See Thucydides, I. 114; Diod. Sic. XII. 22; Xen. Hell. II. 2. 2. — ζώντας, G. § 112, 1. — δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἐχόντων, literally, *having cause to be slaves*, i. e. *worthy of being reduced to slavery*; i. e. for having revolted from the Athenians.

18, 19. βουλόμενοι, *if we had wished*, equivalent to εἰ ἐβούλομεθα. G. § 52, 1; § 16, 2.

20, 21. ἦν . . . παραδόντες. Concerning the assignment of the land of Scione to the Plataeans, see Thucydides, III. 20. For the participle, see G. § 113; § 73, 2.

25. ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιθυμῆναι, G. § 94.

26. δεκαδρχιών. The decadarchies, or governments of ten men, were the forms established by the Lacedaemonians in subject states. The government was intrusted to a council of ten, at the head of whom was placed an ἀρμοστής, or Spartan governor, subject to the supreme authority at home. See below, p. 111.

26 – Page 35, l. 7. τολμῶσι . . . ἐξαμαρτεῖν. Observe, in the successive clauses of this sentence, the care with which the orator discriminates the shades of meaning, while describing various actions, by using the present and aorist tenses of the participles and infinitives. κοινωνήσαντες, *those who shared in*, the act considered as single and completed; διαλυμηνάμενοι, ποιήσαντες, λιπόντες, and τολμήσαντες expressing acts in a similar point of view, while φάσκοντες, ἐπιτηδεύοντες, and ὀδύρομενοι describe repeated or continued acts [in time present with reference to the leading verb]. G. § 16, 1; § 24.

5. *Μηλίων*. For the affair of the Melians, see above, p. 102.

10. *ἐνόμιζον*. The imperfect tense here and in the following clauses describes repeated or continued action, or habitual states of mind, in the past.

11. *Ἐδῶτων*. The Helots were a people who had been reduced to abject servitude by the Spartans. On their origin and condition, see the clear statements of Thirlwall, Vol. I. p. 309 seqq., and Müller's Dorians, III. 3. 1, cited by the historian. For further particulars, consult Thucyd. I. 101 seqq., IV. 80, Strabo, VIII. c. 73, and Isocrates, Panathenaicus, c. 73. The term Helot is used for slave; and here, those who were subservient to the Spartan policy and supported the Spartan agents are, by a doubly contemptuous expression, termed slaves of the Helots.

13. *αὐτόχειρας*, *those who slay or commit violence with their own hand*.

17. *τοὺς συμπαθήσοντας*, *those who would sympathize, those who were ready to sympathize*.

21. *τίσος* . . . *ἐφίκοντα*. For the construction of the genitive, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 199.

26, 27. *διαθέντες* . . . *κατηγοροῦντες*. G. § 112, n. 6. The aorist participle describes the *completed* action, the present describes the action as *continuing* at the moment of speaking.

Page 36, l. 1. *τῶν ποτε* . . . *γενομένων*, *which have ever taken place among us*; alluding to the litigious character which the Athenians notoriously had;—to the numerous suits and prosecutions, having their origin in the selfishness and malignity of the sycophants, which made the property of the citizens, and life itself, insecure.

2, 3. *αὐτοὶ πλείους* . . . *ἀποκτείναντες*. The allusion here is to the atrocities committed by the Thirty Tyrants, whose government was established in Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 404. This detestable oligarchy

could not long be endured, notwithstanding the depressed state of the Athenians. At the end of eight or nine months, it was easily overthrown by Thrasybulus and the returning exiles, and the ancient constitution, with some modifications, was once more restored. For the details of this interesting period, which may be compared with the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution, see Thirlwall, Vol. IV. p. 174 seq. Grote, VIII. Chap. 65. See also the graphic sketch of these events in the second book of Xenophon's Hellenica. They are stated with more or less fulness by Isocrates in the Panathenaicus, Demosthenes, and others.

8, 9. *ῥαδίως . . . διέλυσε*, *one might easily have put an end to by a single decree.* — For *διέλυσε ἄν* and *δύναίτο ἄν*, see G. § 52, 2. With regard to the different language applied by the orator to the acts of the Athenians and those of the Lacedaemonian party, Bremi well remarks: “Prudenter autem de Atheniensium injuriis verbo leniore *διαλύειν, solvere, finire*, utitur; graviore *ἰᾶσθαι* de Lacedaemoniorum saevitia.”

12. *τὴν παρούσαν εἰρήμην*, *the present peace.* The peace here referred to was that known in history as the peace of Antalcidas, negotiated by Antalcidas, on the side of the Spartans, and Tiribazus, the representative of the Persian king, B. C. 387. Sparta, at the close of the Peloponnesian war, stood in a position of commanding power and influence. She soon, however, not only became involved in hostilities with some of the Grecian states, but the expedition of Thibron, B. C. 399, commenced a series of aggressive operations against Persia, ostensibly in defence of the Asiatic Greeks. The principal campaigns were conducted by Agesilaus and Lysander successively. The period between B. C. 399 and the conclusion of the peace, B. C. 387, is crowded with important events, among which stand prominent the battle of Sardis, the death of Lysander, and the disgrace of Pausanias, B. C. 395; the battles of Corinth, of Cnidus, and of Coroneia, B. C. 394; and the restoration of

the Long Walls at Athens, B. C. 390. The successes of Conon, which alarmed Sparta by threatening the restoration of the supremacy by sea to Athens, caused the Spartan government to change its policy towards Persia, and to relinquish its designs of conquering the kingdom. In the year B. C. 390, Antalcidas, an able politician, was despatched for the purpose of negotiating a peace. The proposals he made, though perfectly satisfactory to Tiribazus, the Persian satrap, were opposed by the envoys from Athens, Boeotia, Corinth, Argos, and other Grecian states, and the negotiation for the present fell through. Tiribazus was soon after superseded by Struthas, who favored the Athenians; and the Spartans despatched Thimbron to renew hostilities. He was defeated and slain by the Persian commander; but the Spartan fortunes were retrieved by Diphridas, his successor. Thrasybulus, the hero of Phyle, was sent on an expedition from Athens to support the democratic party in Rhodes, in the year B. C. 389, which was signalized by his death in a riot at Aspendos. Hostilities between the contending parties were continued, to the annoyance and misfortune of both sides. Athens and Sparta were equally desirous of peace. The subordinate states were tired of the war; and Tiribazus, having called together deputies from the belligerents, and "having shown the royal seal, read his master's decree, which ran in the following imperial style: 'King Artaxerxes thinks it right that the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus, should belong to himself; but that all the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyrus, and that these should, as of old, belong to the Athenians. If any state refuse to accept this peace, I will make war against it, with those who consent to these terms, by land and by sea, with ships and with money.'" Thirlwall, Vol. IV. pp. 443, 444. Grote, IX. Chap. 75; X. Chap. 76.

This was the celebrated treaty of Antalcidas, so much reprobated by the Attic orators, and especially by Isocrates; a peace which, as Thirlwall remarks, while it "professed to establish the independence of the Greek states, subjected them more than ever to the will of one. It was not in this respect only that appearances were contrary to the real state of things. The position of Sparta, though seemingly strong, was artificial and precarious; while the majestic attitude in which the Persian king dictated terms to Greece disguised a profound consciousness that his throne subsisted only by sufferance, and that its best security was the disunion of the people with whom he assumed so lordly an air." Vol. IV. pp. 445, 446.

14. *ἐν . . . ἀναγεγραμμένην*. Literally, *written up, in the articles of compact*. The expression refers originally to the custom of inscribing laws, the articles of treaties, and other public documents, on tablets or columns, and thus exposing them to the view of the people. The language is often applied where the fact which suggested it no longer exists.

16, 17. *καταποντισαί, pirates*. Applied to the Persians and Lacedaemonians, "*odii augendi causa*," on account of the cruelties exercised by them. The word refers to the sinking of the ships after they have been plundered.

17. *πελτασταί, here mercenaries*. The term refers to the equipment, "*armorum genus inter ψιλοῦς, leves, et ὀπλίτας, graves*." Bremi.

18. *καταλαμβάνουσιν*. "*Retulerim ad Lacedaemonios, qui facta pace Antalcidae unam post aliam urbem hostiliter aggressi sunt, armisque ceperunt*." Morus.

21. *πρὶν ποιήσασθαι*, G. § 106.

27. *ἀρμοσταί*. Smith (Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Ant.) says: "*Harmostae was the name of the governors whom the Lacedaemonians, after the Peloponnesian war, sent into their subject or conquered towns, partly to keep them in*

submission, and partly to abolish the democratical form of government, and establish in its stead one similar to their own. Although in many cases they were ostensibly sent for the purpose of abolishing the tyrannical government of a town, and to restore the people to freedom, yet they themselves acted like kings or tyrants, whence Dionysius thinks that Harmostae was merely another name for kings. How little sincere the Lacedaemonians were in their professions to restore their subject towns to freedom was manifest after the peace of Antalcidas; for although they had pledged themselves to re-establish free governments in the various towns, yet they left them in the hands of the Harmostae. . . . It is uncertain how long the office of an Harmostes lasted; but considering that a governor of the same kind, who was appointed by the Lacedaemonians in Cythera, with the title of Cytherodices, held his office only for one year, it is not improbable that the office of Harmostes was of the same duration." See also the authorities cited in the article.

Page 37, l. 5. *παύσασθαι . . . ποιουμένων*. Participial construction, like our English idiom, *to cease making*. G. § 112, 1. Observe the different shades of meaning in the aorist and the present. The former expresses the single act of *ceasing*; the latter refers to the repeated instances of invasion and attack.

6. *ἀνέχεσθαι πορθουμένην*, G. § 112, N. 2.

8, 9. *ὥστε . . . καθέλκειν*. This refers to a treaty made with Artaxerxes Longimanus after the victory gained near Salamis, in Cyprus, by the fleet of Cimon over the Phoenician and Cilician galleys of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B. C. 449. Cimon had died shortly before, but the Grecian armament, with the remains of their commander on board, encountered and defeated the enemy's ships. The terms of the treaty, consented to by the Persian king, are stated to have been, that he would abandon the military occupation

of Asia Minor for the distance of three days' journey on foot, or one on horseback, from the coast, or, according to another account, the whole peninsula west of the Halys, and abstain from passing the mouth of the Bosphorus and the Chelidonian islands, on the coast of Lycia, or the town of Phaselis, into the Western Sea. See Thirlwall, Vol. III. p. 37 seqq., where he also points out ably the doubtful character of the transaction as described by the Attic rhetoricians; and Grote, V. chap. 45 (pp. 451–458, with notes). Bremi cites from Aristides, Panath., p. 57, the stipulation on the part of the Persian king, “μακρῶ πλοίῳ μὴ πλείν ἐντὸς Κυανέων καὶ Φασήλιδος.”

12, 13. ὅτι εἶχεν, § 70, 2, n. 1 (a).

16, 17. τὴν . . . ἀτυχίαν, *the disaster that took place in the Hellespont*; i. e. the victory gained by Lysander over the Athenian fleet, B. C. 405, near the mouth of the Aegos Potamoi, a small stream in the Chersonesus, running into the Hellespont. Conon, the Athenian commander, took refuge with Evagoras, the prince of Cyprus. This was the last conflict of much importance in the Peloponnesian war.

16–22. Μετὰ . . . περιέπλευσαν. This passage contains a rapid enumeration of the disasters which befell Greece, in consequence of the downfall of Athens and the rise of Sparta, at the close of the Peloponnesian war.—*ἑτέρων, others*, i. e. the Spartans.—*ναυμαχοῦντες*. Referring particularly to the victory of Artaxerxes Mnemon at Cnidus.—*Κύθηρα*. The island of Cythera (modern Cerigo, but now restored to its ancient name), opposite Cape Maléa, famous for the worship of Uranian Aphrodite.

24. εἰ παραγνοίῃ, *if he should read side by side*, comparing them with one another. G. § 50, 2.

25. τὰς νῦν, *the present*; i. e. the articles of the peace of Antalcidas.

27. ὀπίζοντες, G. § 113.



Page 38, l. 3, 4. *καὶ . . . καθιστάς, and all but establishing governors in the cities.* An *ἐπιστάθμος* is the same as a satrap.

6, 7. *ἐπυράνευσε . . . ἐπιστάτης.* These words are borrowed from the office of the Prytanes, in the Athenian constitution. The fifty members of the Senate, who took the chief part in the meetings for the period called a Prytany, bore this title, while the president for the day, taken from their number, was the Epistates. *πρυτανεύειν* here signifies to take the initiative in dictating the preliminaries of the peace; while *ἐπιστάτης καθίστηκεν* expresses more entirely the absolute control he exercised over all the terms of the treaty.

8, 9. *ὄνχ . . . κατηγορήσονται; Do we not sail to him as to a master for the purpose of accusing one another?* G. § 109, 5. This and the following questions allude to the fact, that the aid of the Persian king was often invoked by the contending parties among the Greeks, in their wars with each other. For the sake of gaining an advantage, they were willing to humiliate themselves before the Great King, and to receive gold from him who was the most implacable enemy of the Grecian race.

10. [*ὥσπερ γεγόνότες, as if we were become, literally, as (we should do) if we were.* The participle expresses a protasis. G. § 109, 6. See note on p. 27, l. 7, 8.]

16-19. *ὄτι . . . ἐποίησαν, that at the beginning they engaged in the war under pretext of liberating the Greeks, but at the conclusion they caused so many of them to be surrendered.* For the future participle with *ὥς*, see G. § 109, n. 4. This refers, of course, to the war before spoken of (see *ante*, pp. 109, 110) between Sparta and Persia, — the pretended object of the Spartans being to secure the independence of the Asiatic Greeks, — and to the peace of Antalcidas, by which the Spartans replaced so many of them under the power of the king.

19, 20. καὶ τῆς . . . ἀπέστησαν, and caused the Ionians to revolt from our city. The Ionian cities of Asia Minor were established by Athenian colonists, who were afterwards allies and members of the confederacy; the Athenians being originally of the Ionian stock. The same charge is brought against the Spartans in the Panathenaicus, c. 39.

22. ὧν . . . ἔχουσι, against whose will they hold the land; i. e. land that they have wrested from the barbarians in Asia.

25. ἐπάρχειν. "Hoc loco de eo qui, praeter suam civitatem in alias dominationem, vel, si mavis euphemistice loqui, patroni quoddam jus habet. Romanis Proconsules ἑπαρχοὶ nominabantur." Bremi.

27. δασμολογεῖσθαι, to be subjected to tribute, to have tribute exacted; referring, says Bremi, to the tributes which were to be paid to the Persians.

Page 39, l. 1. κατεχομένας, G. § 112, 1.

2. καί, also.

3. ἀργυρωνήτων, silver-bought, i. e. purchased slaves. The same word is used in the same sense in the Plataicus.

5. ὅταν ἀναγκάζονται, G. § 62.

6. συστρατεύεσθαι, to serve with; referring to the fact, that the Asiatic Greeks were compelled to serve in the Persian armies against nations of their own race; a contest in which victory only enhanced their own servitude.

7. πολεμῆν . . . ἀξιούσι, to wage war with those who desired to liberate them.

8, 9. [ἡττηθέντες and κατορθώσαντες represent the aorist subjunctive in protasis. G. § 109, 6; § 52, 1.]

12-14. περιορῶσι . . . πάσχοντας. G. § 112, 1.—τῇ . . . ῥώμῃ, with the strength of the Greeks; i. e. the Ionians of Asia.

16. ἐξέβαλλον. Imperfect, describing habitual action, used to cast out. The expression refers to such instances

as the aid which the Lacedaemonians rendered the Athenians in expelling the tyrant Hippias.

18. *πολιτείας, republics*; as opposed to *μοναρχίας*, in the next line. [Aristotle, Polit. IV. 8, § 3, thus defines the term *πολιτεία*:—*ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν μίξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινοῦσας ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας.*]

19. *συγκαθιστᾶσι, assist in establishing.* G. § 65, 3.

19–25. *τὴν . . . ἔξουσιν.* The transactions alluded to in this sentence took place as follows. Mantinea was dismantled by Agesipolis, and the inhabitants distributed among five villages, B. C. 385, about eighteen months after the conclusion of the peace (Polyb. IV. 27, Diod. Sic. XV. 5, Isocr. de Pace, § 100). The Cadmeia of Thebes was taken by Phoebidas, B. C. 382, in violation of the peace (see Thirlwall, Vol. V. p. 15). Polybius says that the Spartans punished the offender, but did not withdraw the garrison, as if the wrong were atoned for by the penalty inflicted on the wrong-doer. In the same year, the Spartans aided Amyntas, the Macedonian, in the war against the Olynthians. The siege of Phlius took place B. C. 380, and in the following year, B. C. 379, both Phlius and Olynthus were reduced (Diod. Sic. XV. 19 seqq., Xen. Hellenica, V. 3). Dionysius had become master of Syracuse B. C. 406. Between him and the Spartans friendly relations existed for many years. The intrigues of Aristus, who was sent on a mission to Dionysius, are narrated by Diodorus Siculus, XIV. 10.

The words concerning the co-operation with the barbarian master of Asia in extending his power, refer to the often-mentioned peace of Antalcidas.

25. *ὅπως ἔξουσιν,* G. § 45.

27. *καθιστάναι, to endeavor to establish.* The present tense often has this signification. G. § 10, 1, n. 2.

Page 40, l. 3, 4. ἀλλ' . . . περιβάλλειν. The alternative clauses are ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζειν . . . ἢ . . . περιβάλλειν.

5. ὅταν τις ἴδῃ, G. § 62.

7, 8. στρατευομένους . . . πεποιημένους. Observe the different tenses, — the frequentative sense of the present participle, describing the repeated acts of military aggression committed by the Spartans upon the other Greeks, and the single and completed act of concluding the treaty, described by the perfect.

9. μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ, G. § 86.

9, 10. τραχύτερον. Of this word Bremi remarks: "Interdum dicitur de aspero et moroso sermone inferioris adversus superiorem, hic hominis privati adversus totam civitatem." For the force of the comparative degree without a second member of the comparison, see Kühner, § 323, Rem. 7.

11. [ὡς ποιήσομαι. The future optative might have been used after the past tense. G. § 70, 2.]

14, 15. παύσω ἔχοντας, G. § 112, 1.

17. ἦν μὴ τις ἐπιτιμῆση, G. § 51.

18, 19. ἐπὶ . . . ἐπ'. Constructed with the dative, expressing end or purpose.

21. [μὴ λεγόμενον is equivalent to εὐὐ μὴ λέγηται. G. § 52, 1; § 51.]

23. εἰλωτεύειν, to be in the condition of Helots.

25. ἐξόν, G. § 110, 2.

26. περιοίκους. The literal meaning of this word is, those who dwell around. "But it is generally used to describe a dependent population, living without the walls, or in the country provinces, of a dominant city, and, although personally free, deprived of the enjoyment of citizenship, and the political rights conferred by it." Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. In a more restricted sense, the Περίοικοι were the original Achaean population, who were reduced to vassalage after the Dorians had conquered the

Peloponnesus. See Thirlwall, Vol. I. p. 307 seqq.; also Wachsmuth's Historical Antiquities of the Greeks, Vol. I. p. 252 seqq.; Müller's Dorians, Book III.; Clinton's Fasti Hellenici; Manso's Sparta, I. 1. 62 seqq. The word is here used metaphorically for *vassals* or *subjects*.

Page 41, l. 3. *νησιώτας*, *the islanders*; i. e. the inhabitants of the Greek islands.

5. *ἡπειρώτας*, *the inhabitants of the continent*; i. e. the Asiatic continent, especially the Persians.

6. *τὴν μὲν πλείστην αὐτῆς*, *the greatest part of it*. For the common idiomatic construction, by which an adjective governing the genitive is put in the gender of the noun which it governs, see Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 264. 2. c; also Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 1221, and the present editor's note upon the passage.

11. *καταγῶναι . . . ἡμῶν*. For this construction of the acc. and gen., see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 194, n. 3. — [*καταγῶναι ἄν* represents *καταγῶναι ἄν* of the direct discourse. G. § 41, 3; § 73, 1; § 76.]

15, 16. [*ἐξ ὧν μηδέποτε παυσόμεθα*. G. § 65, 1. See note on p. 15, l. 3. If *ὅπως* were used instead of *ἐξ ὧν*, we should have the common construction after *σκοπεῖν* (G. § 45).]

20. *τοῖν στρατοπέδων*, *the two armies*. The reference is to the Cyprian war. Evagoras, prince of Salamis, endeavored to make himself master of the whole island. The war consequent upon his revolt lasted from B. C. 386 to B. C. 376. Artaxerxes carried it on with the assistance of an army chiefly of Ionian Greeks. The forces of Evagoras also consisted of Greeks. Evagoras was assassinated B. C. 374. See Diod. Sic. XV. 2; also Thirlwall, Vol. V. p. 436 seqq., and VI. p. 121 seqq.

Page 42, l. 1. *ἄν . . . ἐπόρθουν*, *would be plundering*. See Kühner, § 260 (2), and G. § 49, 2. — For the omission of *ἄν* with *ἐκινδύνεον*, see G. § 42, 4.

7. μέλλει, i. e. ἔχειν. See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222. n.; also Matt. § 498.

12. οὕτω κυρίως, so absolutely.

18, 19. πολλὰς . . . πεποιήται. The force of the article τὰς here is, *the revolutions which*; the middle πεποιήται, which Coray thought should be changed into the active, has, as Bremi remarks, a reflexive signification; not simply that *he has made* the revolutions, which would be the sense of the active, but has caused them to be effected for his own advantage, or to promote his own designs.

21. ἐν παραχαῖς ὄν, *being in disorders*. The Persian empire was disturbed by seditions and revolts, particularly by the revolt of Evagoras.

22. ἡ που, *surely*. See Kühner, § 316, 2. — εἰ ἔσται, G. § 49, 1, n. 3.

23. ὄταν, G. § 61, 3.

24. καὶ . . . γνώμης, *and shall be brought under the control of one will*.

26. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ'. For a full explanation of these negative particles, see Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 318.

Page 43, l. 1–7. Εἰ . . . ῥώμης. Observe the careful co-ordination of the sentences. Εἰ μὲν corresponds with εἰ δέ; again, εἰ in the protasis corresponds with ἄν in the apodosis, both being constructed with the imperfect indicative (see Kühner, § 339 (b)); μὲν, in line 4, corresponds with δ'; and, finally, note the antithesis between τοῖς ἑτέροις, line 5, and θάτερ', line 6.

8, 9. πολλάκις ἐποίησαν, G. § 30, 1, n. 1. — τὰς ῥοπάς. For the force of the article, see above, note to p. 42, l. 18, 19.—Χίων. Chios had but a small naval force; the example is adduced merely to illustrate the general remark in the previous clause.

10, 11. βουλευθεῖεν, G. § 62. The leading verb ἦσαν expresses a general fact.

14. ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, *on his own account, for himself*.

15. ἀποστάσης Αἰγύπτου. G. § 109, 1. The relations between Egypt and Persia are not easily explained in all their details. Cambyses conquered Egypt B. C. 525. It had revolted B. C. 486, and been reconquered by Xerxes B. C. 484. Another revolt broke out B. C. 460, and the war lasted six years. Before the Cyprian war, an expedition had been sent under Abrocomas, Tithraustes, and Pharnabazus; but so unsuccessful was the attempt, that, in the words of Thirlwall (Vol. VI. p. 125), "The Egyptian prince was encouraged to act on the offensive, and to aim at extending his dominion over other provinces of the empire."

20. τελευτῶντες, G. § 109, n. 8.

21, 22. τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀγαπᾶν, *to be content with liberty*. See Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 274, R. 1.

24. ἐπ' Εὐαγόραν στρατεύσας, *having gone, with his forces, against Evagoras*. This refers to the Cyprian war, so often spoken of.

24, 25. ἄρχει μὲν μιᾶς πόλεως, *rules one city*, i. e. Salamis. — ἔκδοτος, *given up*; i. e. not included in the treaty of Antalcidas, but surrendered to the Persian king; the island of Cyprus being, according to Xenophon, one of the islands claimed by the Persian king (Hellenica, V. 1. 31).

26, 27. προδεδυστήκεν, *has been previously unsuccessful*. He had been defeated in a sea-fight by the Persians.

Page 44, l. 8-21. Ἐν δὲ . . . ἐνίκησαν. It has been already mentioned, that, after the defeat of the Athenians at Aegos Potamoi, Conon took refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus, where he remained several years watching the progress of events. (See note on p. 37, l. 16.) He appears to have engaged in the king's service, after some preliminary negotiations, to have raised a fleet, and to have acted as the king's admiral. During the campaigns of Agesilaus, he seems to have remained inactive, probably for want of money and supplies. "Diodorus distinctly relates, that he left the fleet in the care of two Athenians, named Hierony-

mus and Nicodemus, while he himself went up to Babylon, where he had an interview with Artaxerxes, who granted all his requests, and at his own desire appointed Pharnabazus his colleague. Pharnabazus appears to have taken command of the Phoenician galleys; the Greek squadron remained under the immediate orders of Conon. As they sailed westward along the coast of Syria, Conon's squadron being some way ahead, they fell in with Peisander, coming from Cnidus. According to Diodorus, his fleet consisted of eighty-five galleys, and that of the enemy amounted altogether to no more than ninety. But Xenophon informs us that Conon's squadron alone was so much stronger than Peisander's fleet, as to spread dismay among the enemy, and that on his approach many of the allies in the left wing of the Peloponnesians immediately took to flight. The rest were driven on shore, where Peisander, remaining with his ship to the last, fell, Spartan-like, sword in hand." Thirlwall, Vol. IV. pp. 412, 413. This defeat of the Spartans, by the combined Persian and Greek forces under the command of Conon (B. C. 394), is commonly known as the battle of Cnidus; and this name is adopted into the text by Wolf. But as Rhodes was very near the city of Cnidus, being at a short distance from the coast of Caria, the transaction might with a sufficient degree of geographical correctness be referred to Rhodes. Bremi, citing Ernesti, remarks: "Nihil frequentius esse quam loca vicina permu- tari in proeliis, quae in plurium locorum vicinia fiunt. Satis hoc novimus vel ex recentissimorum bellorum memoria."

9, 10. τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν πολιτειῶν, *the irksomeness of the forms of government*; i. e. the uncongenial and oppressive character of the institutions established by the Spartans. — ταῖς ἰηρησείαις, *the succors*, those alluded to above.

12, 13. πιστότατος δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, *most faithful to the Greeks*. As Bremi says, there is some apparent incongru-



ity in thus describing Conon, however deserving he may be of this epithet: "Quum nonnisi de iis praeclari hominis virtutibus sermo sit, quae in regis Persarum utilitatem et honorem cedebant." But the orator means to describe the whole policy of the Spartans as averse to the best interests of the Greeks; and Conon, in opposing them, even by aiding the Persians, showed his fidelity to those interests; and the greater his fidelity to the Greeks, the more persevering would be his efforts in supporting the king's quarrel with the Spartans; and yet, with so zealous a co-operator, the Persian king was obliged to see his fleet hemmed in by only a hundred galleys for the space of three years, and to keep back the soldiers' pay for fifteen months.

16. *πολιορκούμενον* after *περιείδε*, G. § 112, 1. See note on p. 30, l. 20.

18, 19. [The protasis to *διελύθησαν ἂν* is found in *τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνω*, if it had depended on him. G. § 52, 1.]

19, 20. *τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κόρινθον συστάσαν*. This refers to the confederacy formed against Sparta by the Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, and others. Agesilaus had been recalled to avert the threatened danger. A congress of the anti-Spartan states was assembled at Corinth. While they were debating, however, the Lacedaemonian army, under Aristodemus, the guardian of King Agesipolis, crossed the borders and defeated the allied forces with great slaughter. The news of the victory met Agesilaus at Amphipolis. This was in the same year, B. C. 394, but earlier. The pressing danger spoken of in line 19 is the danger apprehended from this alliance, which led to the recall of Agesilaus.

26. *ὡς οὐ χρώμαι*, G. § 34, 3.

Page 45, l. 3. *Δερκυλίδας*. Dercylidas was ordered from Sparta to the Hellespont, B. C. 411 (see Thirlwall, Vol. IV. p. 41 seq.). He was despatched, B. C. 399, to supersede Thibron in the command of the army against Persia. In

Aeolis, he gained possession of nine cities in eight days. He was one of three commissioners to ratify the armistice with Tissaphernes, B. C. 396, after which he returned to Sparta. He was appointed, B. C. 394, to carry the news of the battle of Corinth to Agesilaus, whom he met at Amphipolis, and by whom he was sent to convey the intelligence to the Asiatic Greeks. "This service, Xenophon says, he gladly undertook, for he liked to be absent from home, — a feeling possibly arising from the mortifications to which, as an unmarried man, he was subjected at Sparta." Smith's Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.

4. Δράκων. This was an Achaean of Pellene, who occupied Atarneus, after Dercylidas had reduced it by a siege of eight months, B. C. 398. From this point he ravaged the Mysian plain with three thousand targetiers. See Xenophon's Hellenica, III. 2. § 11. Atarneus was in Aeolis, just opposite to Lesbos.

4-9. [ἐπῆρχε is regularly retained after ἔτι, although the leading verb is past, for want of an imperfect optative: G. § 70, 2, n. 1. On the other hand, ἐποίησεν, ἐπόρθησεν, and ἐκράτησεν might have been put in the aorist optative.]

6. Θίβρων. Thibron, or Thimbron, commanded in Asia, B. C. 399. He was succeeded, as stated above, by Dercylidas. See Xenophon, Hellen. III. 1. 6, Anab. VII. 6. 1. See, also, Thirlwall, Vol. IV. p. 360 seqq.

7-9. Ἀγησίλαος . . . ἐκράτησεν. The expedition of Cyrus, which is the subject of one of the best-known and most interesting works of Xenophon, took place B. C. 401. The army was defeated in the battle of Cunaxa, and the retreat was accomplished B. C. 400. The remains of the Grecian troops, who succeeded in reaching the coast under the command of Xenophon, joined King Agesilaus in the war which he was then waging against the Persians.

13. τῶν . . . συναναβαάντων, *those who went up with Cyrus*; i. e. who accompanied him in the expedition referred to in

the preceding note. — *δρες*, in indirect discourse after *ἐπεδείχθησαν*, G. § 113.

The remainder of this paragraph alludes to the incidents which happened after the battle of Cunaxa, and in the retreat so well described by Xenophon. Isocrates makes the number of Greeks six thousand, differing from Xenophon, who, as is well known, states it to have been ten thousand. See Xenophon's *Anabasis*, *passim*.

15, 16. [*στασιάζειν* and *βούλεσθαι* are in the *imperfect* infinitive (G. § 15, 3) after *τίθημι*, which here signifies, *I grant*. See G. § 15, 2, n. 1.]

Page 46, l. 4. *ὡς εἰ τοῦτο παρανομήσειε συνταράξων*. For the participle with *ὡς*, see G. § 109, 5, n. 4; and for the protasis, G. § 74, 1. [In the latter, *ἐὰν παρανομήσῃ*, the form that would have been used in the direct discourse, might have been retained.]

11. [*ὥσπερ ἀνέπεμψόμενοι* (i. e. *ὥσπερ ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν εἰ προνέμψοντο*). G. § 42, 3, n. 2.]

12, 13. *τὴν . . . χώρας*. For this idiomatic construction, see above, p. 118, note to p. 41, l. 6.

14, 15. [*μέγιστον νομίζοντες, εἰ ἐντύχοιεν*. The apodosis to *εἰ ἐντύχοιεν* is in the *ἔσεσθαι* implied after *νομίζοντες*. In the direct discourse the protasis would be *ἐὰν ἐντύχωμεν*, and *ἐὰν ἐντύχωσιν* might therefore have been used here. G. § 74, 1. Compare note on line 4, above.]

17, 18. *κατέβησαν, came down*; i. e. returned to the coast from the interior. For the force of the preposition *κατά*, and *ἀνά*, in *συναναβάντων* (l. 13), see Kühner, §§ 290–292; also an excellent article on Greek Prepositions in the N. A. Review, No. CXXXV., pp. 376–379.

19, 20. *ἐπιδεδείχθαι*, G. § 18, 3; § 73, 1.

24. *ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις, under the very palace*. The expedition of Cyrus came near reaching the capital; and but for the fall of Cyrus, the army would have been victorious. Xen. Anab. II. 4. 4; — *ἡμεῖς ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλείαν*

δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, *we were conquering the king's army at his very gates.* — τελευτώντες, G. § 109, n. 8.

The following paragraph describes the leading features of Oriental life. The manners and customs of the Persians, Isocrates argues, are such as must naturally lead to the results he has enumerated, in collisions with the manlier race of the Greeks; and an able general or brave soldier could not be formed under the influence of their modes of life.

Page 47, l. 5. ὧν ἐστίν, G. § 59, n. 2.

11. ἰβρίζοντες, G. § 109, 3.

12. ὡς ἂν διαφθαρείεν, G. § 52, 2.

15. ἐξεταζόμενοι, *proving themselves, or exhibiting themselves*; i. e. by their constant attendance at the palace, and their slavish manners, displaying their baseness and pusillanimity. In Athenian law, ἐξετάζειν has the technical meaning of *to investigate*, especially by the torture of slaves. Hence Bremi thinks ἐξεταζόμενοι has, in this passage, a metaphorical signification, *vexati*. It also signifies *being reviewed, or mustered*, like soldiers.

20. οἱ . . . θάλατταν, *those of them who came down to the sea*; i. e. the satraps sent down from the capital to assume the government of the provinces in Asia Minor.

21. ἐκεῖ, *there*; i. e. at the capital. Observe, in what follows, the careful connection of the clauses by the particles μέν and δέ.

26 — Page 48, l. 1. Τὴν . . . διέθρεψαν. This refers to the transactions that followed immediately after the battle of Sardis, B. C. 395. Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, was outgeneralled by Agesilaus, and induced to remain in the valley of the Maeander. Agesilaus marched directly upon Sardis, and, meeting the portion of the Persian army stationed there, defeated them in a great battle. Tissaphernes was charged with treachery, and Tithraustes was sent down to supersede him and to put him to death. The sentence was executed by an underling, who found Tissaphernes in

the bath. Tithraustes then sent envoys to treat with the Spartan general, proposing that he (Agesilaus) should now return home, since Tissaphernes, whom he (Tithraustes) affected to regard as the common enemy, was dead. Agesilaus replied, that he could not take such a step without the authority of the government at Sparta. Tithraustes then proposed that the Lacedaemonian general should spend the intervening time in invading the satrapy of Pharnabazus. The proposition was accepted, on condition that Tithraustes paid the expenses. The satrap advanced thirty talents, which, according to Isocrates, supported the army eight months. See Thirlwall, IV. p. 389 seqq.

1, 2. *ἑτέρου . . . ἀπεστέρησαν*, and deprived those who were fighting in their defence of their wages for twice that length of time. *ἑτέρου τοσούτου*, not another equal length of time, which would of course be eight months; but the expression is analogous to such phrases as *τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον*, which means, not *the fourth half-talent*, i. e. two talents, but *three talents and a half*; the three talents being implied in the *τέταρτον* (see Matthiae, Gr. Gr., Vol. I. p. 233). So, in *ἑτέρου τοσούτου*, the *one* time of equal duration is implied by *ἑτέρου*, the *other*, or second, time. The precise time has been before stated as fifteen months.

3. *Κισθήνην*. Harpocration and Suidas speak of it as a mountain in Thrace. Wolf calls it a city in Aeolis; others, a city in Mysia. It was probably a city in Aeolis, with a harbor near it. See Strabo, p. 607. The event alluded to here is no further known.

4. *τοὺς . . . στρατευσαμένους*, those who served with them against Cyprus; i. e. the Ionian Greeks who shared in the expedition against Evagoras. See above, p. 118, note to p. 41, l. 20.

5. *ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν*, G. § 100

9-11. *Κόνωνα . . . ἐτόλμησαν*. Conon's fate is differently related by different authors. It will be remembered, that,

after the battle of Aegos Potamoi, he fled to Evagoras; then entered the service of Persia against the Spartans. After the battle of Cnidus, he returned to Athens, and superintended the rebuilding of the walls, which had been taken down at the close of the Peloponnesian war, by direction of Lysander, and distributed fifty talents among the citizens. According to Nepos, he had formed the design of restoring Aeolis and Ionia to the Athenians. Tiribazus pretended that he desired to send Conon to the king on important business. On arriving at the capital, he was seized and thrown into prison. Others state that he went up to the king, and was treacherously seized and put to death. See Cornelius Nepos, Conon, c. IV. V., and Thirlwall, Vol. IV. p. 434.

11-13. *Θεμιστοκλέα . . . ἤξιωσαν*. Themistocles, having rendered most important services to Athens in the Persian war, was ostracized, and went into exile, and, after wandering to Argos, Corcyra, Molossia, and Ephesus, was finally compelled to take refuge in Persia. He arrived at the capital just after the death of Xerxes, B. C. 465, and was received at the Persian court with the most distinguished honors. See Thirlwall, Vol. II. p. 383 seqq., Cornelius Nepos, Themistocles, c. VIII. - X.

17. *ἐπιβουλεύοντες*, G. § 112, 1.

18-21. *Τί . . . ἐτόλμησαν*. All this refers to the outrages committed by the Persians, in their invasion of Attica. See Herodotus, VIII. c. 24 seqq.

22-24. *Διὸ . . . βουληθείεν*. The reading *\*Ιωνας* is doubtful here. According to Diodorus Siculus (XI. 29), an oath to this effect was taken by the Greeks at the Isthmus, before the battle of Plataea, B. C. 479. In the oration of Lycurgus against Leocrates, the formula of the oath is preserved, — “that they would not prefer life to liberty; would not desert their commanders, living or dead; that they would bury those of the allies who fell in battle; . . . that they would rebuild none of the temples burned and levelled

by the Barbarian, but would leave them to be a memorial to posterity of Persian impiety." The circumstance is not mentioned by Herodotus. — For the protasis, *εἰ κινήσειαν ἢ βουληθεῖεν*, see G. § 77, 1; [the aorist subjunctive might have been used.]

25, 26. [*πόθεν ἐπισκευάσωσιν*. The subjunctive is retained from the direct question; G. § 88; § 71. — *ἴνα ᾗ*, G. § 44, 2: so *πιστεύῃ* and the following subjunctives.]

Page 49, l. 7. *ἡπειρώταις*, *inhabitants of the continent*; i. e. Asiatics or Persians.

8. *ὅταν πάσχωσι*, G. § 62.

10. *μηδισμοῦ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν*. *καταγιγνώσκω* is often constructed, as here, with the accusative of the penalty, the genitive of the crime, and the genitive of the criminal, — *passed sentence of death on many for favoring the Persians*; a crime called *Medism* (*μηδισμός*).

12. *χρηματίζειν*, *to transact business*. It is a technical term, frequently occurring in the orators, when speaking of the business brought before the Senate and the Assembly. See Demosthenes de Corona, *passim*. — *ἐπικηρυκέεται*, *sends heralds*; i. e. for the purpose of friendly negotiation and reconciliation. G. § 53, n. 2. This ceremony will remind the reader of the solemn imprecations uttered in former times by the Pope against the Turks and eclipses.

13, 14. *Εὐμολπίδαι . . . μυστηρίων*. For an account of the Eleusinian initiations, and the Eumolpids, see above, pp. 72–74, and p. 90. The *κήρυκες* particularly referred to here were a family who held the office of heralds in the Eleusinian mysteries, inheriting the dignity from ancient mythical times. Xenophon (Hellen. II. 4. 13) has *τῶν Μυστῶν κήρυξ*. Diodorus Siculus compares these classes with the Egyptian priesthood (I. 29).

21. *ὕμνους*, *hymns*, songs of triumph. The word signifies either songs composed for special occasions, or the stated chanting of poetical compositions, at festivals, by the rhap-

sodists. At Athens, it was ordained that the Homeric poems should be delivered in regular order at the Panathenaic festival.

22. *θρήνους*. The Threnes were poems of the character of dirges. See History of Greek Literature, by K. O. Müller.

25-27. [*λαβεῖν* and *βουληθῆναι* are in indirect discourse after *οἶμαι*, and therefore preserve their force as *aorists*, referring to past time. G. § 23, 2. Compare these with *ποιῆσαι* (G. § 23, 1), which refers to no definite time.]

Page 50, l. 1. *τοῖς . . . ἄθλοις*, in the contests of music. The musical contests, in the more limited sense of the word, were those in which prizes for excellence in the musical art were awarded. But under the term music the Athenians included whatever belonged to a polite and liberal education; i. e. all their intellectual discipline. The poems of Homer were much used as the groundwork of early education in the Athenian schools, and large portions of them were committed to memory by the Athenian youth. Plato, however, disapproved of this, and banished the old poet from his republic, on account of the morals and manners which he attributes to the gods. See "Classical Studies," by Sears, Edwards, and Felton, pp. 325-341.

3-5. [The two subjunctives after *ἵνα* depend on a secondary tense (G. § 35, 2), and are to be explained on the principle of indirect discourse. See note on page 30, line 16.]

8. *ὁ παρὸν καιρός*, the present opportunity. The favorable circumstances to which Isocrates refers were:—1. The revolt of Egypt, which called off a part of the Persian forces. 2. The war of Cyprus, now in its sixth year, which consumed many of the king's resources. 3. According to Diodorus Siculus (XV. 2), Evagoras held by military occupation several places in Phoenicia; Syria was probably in much the same condition. Tyre was the most important



and wealthy commercial metropolis, nearly opposite Cyprus, and therefore likely to be deeply affected by the movements of the island. 4. Many cities in Cilicia were held by those who were favorably inclined to the Athenians, and Lycia had never been under the Persian power. 5. Hecatomnos, the satrap of Caria (Diod. Sic. XV. 2), in the war with Evagoras, secretly co-operated with him, and aided him with large supplies of money for the support of his armies. 6. From Cnidus to Sinope, that is, from the Triopian promontory, at the southwestern corner of Caria, to the northern side of Paphlagonia, on the Euxine Sea, — a line extending from the southwestern extremity of Asia Minor along the whole western coast, thence along the Propontis and the greater part of the Euxine Sea, — there dwelt a Hellenic population who required to be restrained from hostilities, rather than to be urged to engage in the war.

9. ἀφετίον, G. § 114, 2.

11. μέλλοντες (i. e. εἰ μέλλοιμεν), G. § 52, 1.

21. ὅταν βουληθῶμεν, G. § 61, 3.

25. τοσούτου πολέμου, *so great a war*, i. e. as we, the Greeks, might, under such circumstances, wage against Persia. The participles here express supposition. G. § 109, 6.

Page 51, l. 3–6. εἰ κατὰσχῆ, τάχ' ἂν ἀποκλίναιεν. [A mixed construction, with a second protasis implied in the latter clause.] G. § 54, 1 (a).

7. αὐτάς, *them*; i. e. the cities on the coast.

9. ἐπί, *in the power*, or *at the service of*.

13. ὑπερίσσαντες . . . βαρβάρων, *having been behindhand with the Barbarians*; i. e. letting the Persians get the start of them, instead of invading Persia; whereby the Persians were enabled to force into their service many of the Greeks, namely, the Ionians, and those who were conquered by the Persians before the battle of Marathon. See Herod. IV. 89–104.

15. *ἔξόν*, G. § 110, 2.  
 17. *ἐν μέρει*, *by turns*, or *in succession*.  
 18. *ὄταν πολεμῇ*, G. § 62.  
 20. *ἕως ἂν ἐπιστώσιν*, *until they may have become concentrated*. G. § 66, 2.

24, 25. *φθῆναι . . . ἐγκαταστήσαντες*. See above, pp. 94 (note to p. 25, l. 3), 96 (note to p. 27, l. 20).

26. *ἡπειρωτῶν*, *the inhabitants of the continent*; i. e. the Asiatic continent, who, as Isocrates urges, obey the Persian king only on compulsion, because he is constantly surrounded by a force superior to each of the various nations that constitute his empire.

Page 52, l. 1, 2. *ὄταν διαβιβάζωμεν*, G. § 61, 3. — *ῖ*. For the construction of the relative where the antecedent is a sentence, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 172. 1. c. — *βουλευθέντες* (= *εἰ βουλευθῆμεν*), G. § 52, 1.

6. *ἐπὶ . . . ἡλικίας*, *in the present age*.  
 13–18. *ὥστε . . . ἀποθνήσκειν*, G. § 98, 1.  
 20. *συγκειμέναις*, *put together*, set forth in fictitious composition; especial allusion being made to the Attic tragedies.

23. *ὥστε χείρουσιν*, G. § 65, 3.

26. *δυστυχίας ἀνδρῶν*, *misfortunes of men*; i. e. of individuals, or small numbers, when cities and states are subverted. — *εἰ ὀδυροίμην*, G. § 50, 2.

27. *ἀνάστατος*. According to Isocrates (De Pace, § 99), the Lacedaemonians, after they had acquired the supremacy, set about overthrowing the constitutional governments in the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, and establishing tyrannies in their place. Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, also received the aid of the Spartans in his attempts to subject to his power the Greeks of Sicily and Italy. The disastrous expedition of the Athenians to Sicily, in the Peloponnesian war, is well known. It took place B. C. 415. The Athenians were utterly defeated, some put to death, and others

sold for slaves, B. C. 413. See the masterly narrative of Thucydides, VI. and VII.

Page 53, l. 7-10. ἐχρῆν . . . συμβουλευέειν, G. § 49, 2, n. 3. — εἰσηγεῖσθαι, to introduce the subject. The word is technically used of taking the initiative in public measures.

11. συνεπέρανεν ἄν, G. § 52, 2. — For the following protasis and apodosis, see G. § 49, 2.

17. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'. An elliptical expression, signifying, *This indeed is not all, but, &c.* It may be rendered in such places, *But surely.* See Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 323, R. 11.

19. σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλαγσόμεθα, G. § 45.

26, 27. ἐξ ὧν οἰκήσομεν καὶ διακεισόμεθα, G. § 65, 1. See note on p. 15, l. 3.

Page 54, l. 4. πρὶν ἂν ποιησώμεθα, G. § 67, 1. [The analogy of this clause with the protasis, ἢν μὴ πολεμήσωμεν, above, will be noticed.]

12. \* περὶ πάντος ποιητέον, it is our duty to make it of the greatest account; we must consider it of the first importance. See Matt. Gr. Gr., § 589; G. § 114, 2.

12, 13. ὅπως διορισόμεν, G. § 45. — [ὥς, as a causal particle, since; it here introduces a conditional sentence, instead of a simple verb in the indicative; G. § 81, n. 2.]

18. τὰς συνθήκας, the compacts; i. e. the terms of the peace of Antalcidas.

21. [ὥς τυχοῦσαι, since (as they themselves know) they have gained this through him. G. § 109, n. 4. ὥς implies that the cause was the one assigned by the states themselves for their gratitude to the king, — not, however, implying that Isocrates doubted that it was the real cause.]

Page 55, l. 7. ἐν ταῖς στήλαις, on the columns; i. e. those on which the terms of the treaty were inscribed.

9. ταῦτα δέ. For the particle δέ, see above, p. 65, note to p. 3, l. 6. †

10. χρῆν ἀναιρεῖν, G. § 49, 2, n. 3.

18-15. αἵτινες ἂν ἔχωσι, G. § 62. — [Instead of τὰ ἔλατ-

τοῦτα, he might have used ἄ ἂν ἔλαττοῖ, or ἄ ἔλαττοῖ (Ind.). G. § 52, 1.]

16. τῶν πρεσβευσάντων, *those who negotiated*; literally, *those who served as ambassadors*.

19–23. ἐχρῆν . . . συγγράφεισθαι, G. § 49, 2, n. 3.

21. ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρήνην, *just about the time of the peace*. For this sense of ὑπό, see Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 299, III. (2).

23. συγγράφεισθαι, *to come to terms*.

26, 27. [ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμησάντων. Most later editions read ὡσπερ, which certainly seems to be required, although the weight of manuscript authority is in favor of ὡς. (See G. § 110, 1, n. 1, and the example from Isocrates there quoted.) If ὡς is retained, it must be understood in the sense of ὡσπερ, the construction being, ὡς ἐκείνον ἂν κατέστησαν, εἰ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἐπολεμήσατε ὑμῖς. So with the other participles, καθεστηκυίας, κατοικούντων, ἐχόντων, and δυναστεύοντων, which represent protases in the pluperfect and imperfect indicative respectively (G. § 52, 1). See note on p. 56, l. 10–12, below.]

Page 56, l. 8. κόσμῳ, *heaven*. Originally, *order, system*; then, *the universe*; here, = οὐρανῷ.

10–12. [ὡσπερ . . . νεμόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ . . . ποιούμενος (i. e. ὡσπερ ἂν εἰλήφει, εἰ πρὸς Δία ἐνέμετο ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐποιεῖτο). For the negative οὐ with ποιούμενος, which might here be retained even in protasis with εἰ, see G. § 47, 3, note, and especially the last examples. The same principle applies to οὐκ ἐχόντων, p. 56, l. 2; see note on p. 55, l. 26.]

17. καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, *at the expense of all Greece*.

18, 19. ὅπως ληψόμεθα, G. § 45.

26. πρὶν . . . ἐποίησαν. The indicative after πρὶν states the fact positively, as having historically occurred. G. § 67, 1.

Page 57, l. 3. θεωρία, *a festival deputation*, such as was sent to represent the Grecian states at the great national

games. See above, p. 81, note to p. 15, l. 5. What the orator means is, that the war against Persia will rather resemble a splendid and showy procession, sent to participate in a national festivity, than the hard service of a military invasion.

9, 10. *πολλαχού ἂν τις λογιζόμενος εὔροι.* Here *λογιζόμενος* represents *εἰ λογιζοίτο*, G. § 52, 1. — *λυσιτελούσας*, G. § 113.

19. *περιβεβλημένοις, ὡς ἔχει ἐνcompassed themselves with.*

Page 58, l. 1. *καταλέγοντες, by levying.* See Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 312.

16. *τεύξεσθαι*, G. § 27, n. 3. [*Προσδοκάω*, like *ἐλπίζω* and similar verbs, may be followed by the present and aorist infinitive, as well as by the future.]

25. *τοῦ μεγέθους.* See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 199.

27. *ἴσως ἂν τύχοιμεν, εἰ . . . ποιησάμεθα*, G. § 72 ; § 76.

Page 59, l. 7-9. *τοὺς δὲ . . . γράφοντας, and those who engage in contests of arguments, to cease writing upon questions of deposit and other trifling matters ;* alluding to the numerous cases of litigation upon common business transactions which occupied the talents of the orators, when, in the opinion of Isocrates, they might have been much better employed in stirring up their countrymen to put an end to their domestic feuds, and to unite for the subjugation of Persia. Genitive *λόγων* with *ἀμφισβητοῦντας*, *with respect of, the subject of, &c.*

10-12. *σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἐρούσιν*, G. § 45.

14-17. *ἐξ ὧν . . . ἐπιδώσει . . . ἀπαλλαγῆσονται . . . δόξουσιν*, G. § 65, 1. See note on p. 15, l. 3.

*Additional Note to page 15, lines 2 and 3.*

The peculiar use of the subjunctive in ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν may perhaps be explained by the analogy of the common construction, οὐκ ἔχω τί (or ὅ τι) εἶπω, *non habeo quid dicam*, where the indirect question is obvious. The transition from οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι εἶπω to ἔχω ὅ τι εἶπω might be easily made, although in the latter all trace of the indirect question disappears. Other similar examples are cited by Krüger (*Gr. Gr.* § 54, 7, A. 2), in all of which the leading verb is ἔχω. These are *Plat. Symp.* p. 194 D, ἐὰν μόνον ἔχη ὅτῳ διαλέγηται, and *Xen. Oecon.* 7, 20, ἔξειν ὅ τι εἰσφέρουσιν. In *Plat. Phaedr.* p. 255 E, and *Lys. in Andoc.* § 42, we have the same construction, if we accept Bekker's emendation ὅ τι λέγη for ὅ τι λέγει, which the sense seems to require. Compare also *Plat. Ion.* p. 535 B, where we find ἀπορεῖς ὅ τι λέγῃς and εὐπορεῖς ὅ τι λέγῃς in the same sentence; here the transition is especially simple. Even if we explain εὐπορεῖς ὅ τι λέγῃς as an indirect question, it seems a perversion of language to apply that name to the others, as Krüger does. Of course, these remarks will not apply to the doubtful example from *Thucyd.* VII. 25, discussed in the note, or to the cases of the optative there quoted.

W. W. G.







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